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ANCIENT JERUSALEM

THE KEDRON VALLEY

Looking south from a point just east of the southeast corner of the Temple area. Silwan on the left. The houses on the hill, right hand, are on the south side of the Hinnom Valley. Bir Eyub is near the centre, beyond a small threshing floor which appears nearly white. The sixth camel covers the point, in the valley below, where the Fountain of the Virgin is located.—*Page* 287.

ANCIENT JERUSALEM

BY

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To the memory of Sir Charles W. Wilson, who repeatedly urged me to put my notes on Jerusalem into permanent form; to Sir Charles Warren, whose masterly work in excavating Jerusalem cannot be too highly praised; and to George Adam Smith, my warm personal friend and fellow-worker, this volume is dedicated.

In the repairing or rebuilding of cities in ancient times there is no evidence that they were so far remodelled and enlarged as to be totally different from the original. At least some resemblance to the old remained. There may have been important changes, but, except in the rarest instances, the site was permanent. The opposite of this rule, however, we are asked to believe of Jerusalem; that in rebuilding it its old form and size were so entirely altered that they could never afterwards be recognized; that with one or two exceptions all traces of its public buildings, its castle and palaces, were obliterated; and that even the position and course of its walls were forgotten. In a word, that the nation which built one of the most famous cities of antiquity and occupied it continuously for several centuries, a nation that took no small pride in its own records and memorials, failed to remember where Jerusalem stood and the location of its castle, temple, palaces, and walls. Surely this is asking too much.

—*From one of the Author's Lectures on Jerusalem.*

PREFACE

For several reasons it has been thought best in this work to omit bibliographical details. A bibliographical work necessitates the expression of opinions, which in many cases would not be a pleasant task. One result of this method is that a few persons may not receive the credit they deserve; and likewise certain wild theories and rash statements do not receive the condemnation which they justly merit. Something of spice and personal interest may be lacking in consequence, but the advantages far outweigh the loss. The author's ambition has been to be extremely fair in the treatment of every question, and for this reason, among others, the first personal pronoun has been eliminated from the text. Everything in his power has been done to avoid giving offence to the reader, and everything done to insure accuracy of statement and detail. The real amount of helpful literature on this subject is small; but everything has been carefully examined, and close relations have been maintained with excavators and engineers whose labors have added greatly to our knowledge of Old Jerusalem. The "recovery of Jerusalem" becomes more and more impossible with every passing year. Two generations ago much might have been done had those who have gone before us been inspired with the same zeal which now exists in many minds. Every year more and more acres are covered with modern structures; while this work has been going on some important things have been found as by accident; no doubt others will be brought to light in the same way; but the free ground left for the pick and spade of the interested and educated explorer has almost entirely disappeared. This fact has

a depressing effect; hence we should be the more thankful for what has been accomplished; that step by step so much progress has been made in the solution of problems that seemed to baffle the skill of Biblical archæologists.

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INTRODUCTION

Discrimination necessary between so-called "authorities." Examples

As in a court of justice not every person is considered a competent witness although he may know something of the matter in question, so not every person who writes or speaks on Palestine is entitled to equal consideration. A lack of proper discrimination as to authorities has been and is a great obstacle in the way of successful investigation. Under what conditions was this or that book produced; how has this person or that one qualified himself to write; are questions that should be asked in every case when the matter of authority arises. Moreover, it is not enough to have been a resident of a country to qualify one to speak on that country with authority. Although this principle may be generally accepted, it is often violated.

On the matter of discriminating between so-called "authorities" the writer is well aware that it is a delicate subject, especially if names were to be mentioned, which it is not now proposed to do; but several examples may make tolerably clear what is meant, the examples being drawn from personal experience.

An intelligent person arrives in Jerusalem and spends there two or three days. At last he approaches me and says, "I hear that you have studied Jerusalem thoroughly, and may I ask your opinion on such and such a point?" I reply, "The question is difficult, but considering all the archæological and historical evidence I have come to such and such a conclusion." The stranger looks pleased and responds, "That is exactly my view." Such an incident is not of infrequent occurrence, and such minds are to me a perfect marvel. In twenty-four hours' observation they accomplish as much as I have

done in twenty-five years of study. Later I find such persons quoted as "authorities" on the topography of Palestine and the archæology of Jerusalem.

Another example.—There comes to Jerusalem a clergyman who has received the usual education afforded by a theological seminary and who has enjoyed the usual reading of an intelligent but busy pastor. His letters to his people at home are bright, interesting, highly appreciated, and are soon made up into book form. This is perfectly proper. It is when this writer begins to be quoted as an "authority" that harm is done.

Far more common and more harmful are the instances of which the following is a sample.—A man is eminent in the scholarly and literary world, widely known and highly respected. He has never given any special study to Palestine or Jerusalem, but the opportunity comes and he visits the Holy Land. He travels hastily through the country like any ordinary tourist. After he reaches home he is persuaded to write a book, his friends knowing that his name will make it a financial success. Thus far no possible criticism can be made.

But this man's opinions and utterances are sure to be estimated by the high regard in which he is held in the circle to which he belongs. If he makes remarks about disputed sites, about any of the peculiarities of the country, about geological or archæological questions, he is certain to be held up to the world as an "authority" on these points. But being an eminent man in his own department of study or learning does not make him an authority upon a subject which he knows little about. Behind this supposition are prominent men, some of them eminent Biblical scholars, whose names, were they to be mentioned, would occasion great surprise. It is certain that here a clear distinction ought to be made; but it is no doubt true that the great majority of those who have to do with Palestine do not make it. The failure to discriminate between so-called authorities can be illustrated and verified by reference to

any Dictionary of the Bible now extant, including the two most scholarly Dictionaries that have recently appeared in England.

A Mommsen makes the history of Rome a life-study. Another person studies Roman history in school and college, perhaps later in life he reads a history of Rome, and, it may be, visits Rome as a traveller. All this does not qualify him to be regarded as an authority on special matters pertaining to that city. In this case the distinction that should be made between this man and Mommsen is likely to be made. Why should it not be made between writers on Palestine? It is made by a very few experts; but it is not generally made, and this is the ground of objection.

In the form of published letters, magazine articles, and books a vast amount of literature on Jerusalem and Palestine is put forth every year, and the crude statements, to say nothing of statements that are untrue and absurd, thus given to the public are surprising. Palestine has been particularly unfortunate in this respect, and the amount of injustice that has been done her cannot be estimated. Were London and England, or Paris and France, to be treated in a similar manner there would be a loud outcry against it.

Advantage of studying on the ground

Another important matter is the advantage one has in studying the topography and archæology of a place on the ground itself. Two men equally careful and studious write upon such a topic as San Francisco, California. One of them has lived in that city ever since gold was discovered in 1849. He knew the ground before it was built upon and is intelligently conversant with all the changes that have taken place in the last half-century. The other may have made a brief visit to that city, and has studied the place chiefly from plans, maps, and such books as he could command. There is no question which of these men should be regarded as the higher authority.

Tradition not infallible

One of the clearest and most significant lessons of history, certainly to those who believe in God and in an overruling Providence, is the small regard God has for places. A place, a temple, a country, a people appear, accomplish their mission, and then disappear. Their work remains and helps the world in its onward movement.

Directly opposite to this is another fact, namely, that in the two great churches of the centuries one of the most conspicuous features is the importance attached to places. This feeling still exists and amounts in some cases to idolatry. To disbelieve in these alleged sites is to disbelieve in religion—to disbelieve in God.

To believe in the infallibility of tradition in this enlightened age is more common than is ordinarily supposed. From many examples I will select one and give the circumstances and conversation exactly as they occurred. I went about with this man, showed him bits of wall still in position belonging to a certain period, called his attention to hills and valleys which must be taken into account, and pointed out other facts which made a certain conclusion inevitable. He listened attentively although far from sympathetically, but was courteous enough to thank me. He then said, "I have the fullest belief in the traditions of the church, and the stones, walls, and other archæological evidence which you have brought forward are nothing to me. Whatever amount of evidence of this sort you may bring forward, I believe in the tradition every time." Nothing could be more definite. I was glad to draw his fire because it showed me exactly where he stood. Not all of this class show equal frankness, hence his testimony is valuable. It is not asserted that every traditionalist holds such extreme views, still this man's position indicates the general attitude of this class towards investigation.

One of the greatest obstacles in the search after truth is a preconceived theory. For example, a certain prob-

lem arises which has a certain and definite solution, although not yet known. A person tries one method, then another, and even a third and a fourth before the proper solution is reached. This is quite different from the method of one who approaches the problem with a fixed notion of what the solution must be. For a concrete illustration the site of Calvary may be taken. One person tries this way, that way, and still another way in his effort to arrive at the most probable location of the site, which can never, we believe, be determined with absolute certainty. Another person starts with a theory, a preconcived idea which has to him the force of indisputable truth. The one person is an investigator; the other is a dogmatist. The one can argue and reason, the other cannot. If he pretends to argue or reason it is breath wasted, for he would sooner lose his right hand than come out at any other point than the one where he started. Of this class there are many writers who, perhaps unintentionally, do much harm. In the list are the names of some prominent persons who are sure to have a following. David and Solomon collected materials before the Temple was built. The class now referred to are bound that their Temple shall be built whether they have any materials or not. The only person worthy of respect is the one who collects slowly, and who is satisfied with collecting slowly fact after fact, leaving the work of reconstruction till the last, or it may be to those who come after him.

Preconceived theories harmful

I must be allowed to make the personal statement that in my study of Jerusalem I did not start with a theory. I have for a long period of years collected facts and tried to see whither they would lead or point. I know that Christ came to this world and lived and died for sinners, and that the place of his death and burial was Jerusalem. But to me the particular spot here or there is not essential. This does not affect in any way Christ's great work. This is the position which I occupy with

The author ready to accept established facts

regard to the crucifixion and burial of our Lord. Then follows the specific question as to the claims of the Holy Sepulchre, which I am ready to accept as valid the moment the proof is furnished; but thus far the proof has not been furnished nor have even the probabilities been furnished. What I sincerely wish is that Christians of every denomination felt as ready and willing as I am to accept any place the moment its claims are substantiated. In modern times we build what we call "memorial churches"; had Christians of another creed than mine and another age been willing to say "We erect here a memorial church," without saying "This is the exact spot," what years of bitter controversy would have been spared!

I think I have made it clear that I not only disclaim any preconceived theory for myself, but I strongly disapprove the method of those who begin the investigation of important subjects with a decided partisan bias towards one theory or another. For such a course there is to my mind no justification whatever.

Importance of Josephus

In such a work as the present no progress whatever could be made without the writings of Josephus, who deserves a brief mention at least. The treatment he has in general received from scholars and writers is well known. Probably no scholar rejects him entirely, but many receive his statements with doubt and mistrust, and many of his statements they absolutely reject. If a passage is difficult "it has been interpolated"; if a statement cannot be explained "it is the romancing," or "the usual exaggeration, of Josephus." A writer has a theory, and if Josephus does not confirm it he is cast aside. It is not too much to say that Josephus is the most defamed and maligned Jew that has lived during the past two thousand years. What harm is there in accepting him as a reliable historian and trying to give to his writings a reasonable explanation? A reasonable explanation has been sought for the writings of Shakespeare,—every

play and every individual paragraph. So far as the writer is aware, Josephus has never been accorded the same fair and honest treatment. Competent scholars have devoted their energies to the text of Josephus and have published it in what they consider a reliable form; and after very careful study the present writer considers that the historian has given us a connected and in the main a correct account of the events which he records.

Period of commencing this study

In studying the topography of ancient Jerusalem the point of time at which the subject is approached is of great importance.

Some writers begin with the first mention of the place in history and try to follow its development through many centuries till its capture by Titus in the year 70 of our era.

Others begin somewhere in the middle, say with Nehemiah, and make him a sort of pre-Christian Baedeker, accepting his statements as final without considering the historical reasons behind them.

Others still, who without offence are to be designated as "traditionalists," begin with A.D. 330, when the Basilica-Market which Constantine granted to Jerusalem was being erected. The preceding as well as the subsequent history of the city they care little for; but when pressed for an opinion on any earlier or later point their reply is always shaped by what they have been taught was "miraculously discovered" three centuries after the death of Christ.

The first and second of these methods the present writer has during the past thirty years tried repeatedly, only to find them beset with difficulties so great that no satisfactory results could be obtained. In the present work he has made the arrival of Titus before Jerusalem in A.D. 70 his point of departure, and from that date has worked backwards as far as it has seemed possible to go.

Efforts to insure accuracy

Every minaret in the city, many of the housetops, the city wall, the Castle, the churches, the synagogues, and every elevated point that affords a new view or any help in understanding the contour of the city has been visited repeatedly. Some special points have been visited scores of times. The plan has been to make a visit to such or such a point and make notes. Then to go home and re-examine Josephus, the references in the Bible, and the map of Levels, and as soon as possible make another visit to the same point. As Jerusalem comprised hills and valleys it is certain that the hills cannot all have been levelled nor all the valleys filled. The variations of surface as they originally existed are still apparent to the eye, in spite of all the changes that have taken place in twenty or more centuries. Here and there a rise, here and there a depression, all are significant. The study of the Levels of Jerusalem as they have been ascertained and recorded is most important; but almost of equal importance is the study of the contour of the city from its elevated points. The Levels give the information sought in the abstract; the views give the same information to a degree in the concrete. This is not so perfect or striking as it would be were the débris removed; still the views illustrate, confirm, and make real to the mind what the Levels teach. Both these methods are equally necessary, and the views are of such importance in enabling one to accept or reject certain theories that it is impossible for a person who has never tried it to appreciate what is now said.

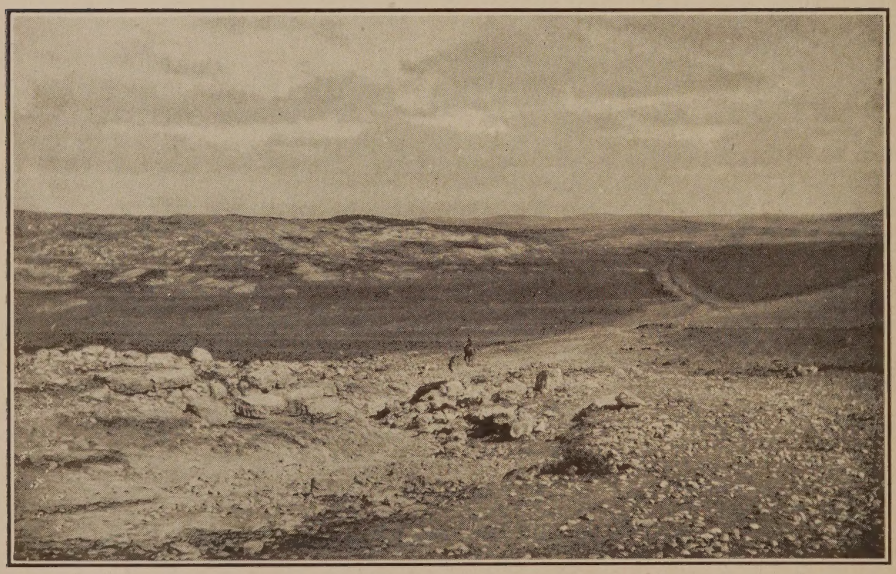
Questions of priority of discovery

During the past thirty years I have paid a great deal of attention to the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem and have studied the subject from every conceivable point of view. I have tried to state my conclusions with dignity and fairness, but it has been no part of my work to give the precise date of this or that discovery, nor have I stopped to ascribe this or that discovery to any particular person. It is a very delicate matter to speak of

priority of claim to any particular view. As an illustration I will mention that certain important things have been attributed to others which in fairness should be attributed to myself. The discovery of the one hundred and twenty feet of the Second Wall which runs northward from the Castle of David, is due to myself. If in all the investigations made in Jerusalem anything is certain, this is certain, and yet it has been assigned to others. When I took Mr. Schick (it was in 1885) to see it he was sure it was the wall of a castle, and I had the greatest difficulty in persuading him that it was not the wall of a castle but a city wall. He seemed determined to publish it as the wall of a castle, but eventually did not do so. In regard to the remains of Acra near or just east of the Holy Sepulchre, I spent hours with Mr. Schick trying to persuade him of the existence there of that ancient fortress, and at last he was convinced. In the German *Zeitschrift* he has reproduced it; but if there was any borrowing he borrowed from me and not I from him. My intercourse with him was always friendly, and what I have said now is not said in any spirit of complaint or contention. There are other matters in regard to which I can rightly claim priority of discovery; but as this is not a controversial work, I trust that the reader will not make the question of priority in any case a matter of contention. I will also remind the reader of the length of time that I have been engaged in this study, and views which he thinks were new five or ten years ago may have been ascertained and published by me twenty-five or thirty years ago.—I have conversed freely with many persons, compared notes with different investigators, discussed views and theories with those who appeared to be competent to judge in these matters, and I have lived to put my notes and observations into definite form, hoping they may be of service.

REMAINS OF CASTLE

Three and a half miles north of Jerusalem, where Titus camped.



LOOKING NORTH FROM CASTLE TO FORK OF THE ROADS

One road to Damascus via Nablous, the left to Cesarea via Beth Horon. Titus with two legions came by the first, the fifth legion came up from Amamaus by the second.

CHAPTER I

TITUS' APPROACH TO JERUSALEM, A.D. 70

Camps at Castle—Reconnoitring Column Broken and Retreats—Women's Towers—Scopus

Titus' approach to Jerusalem

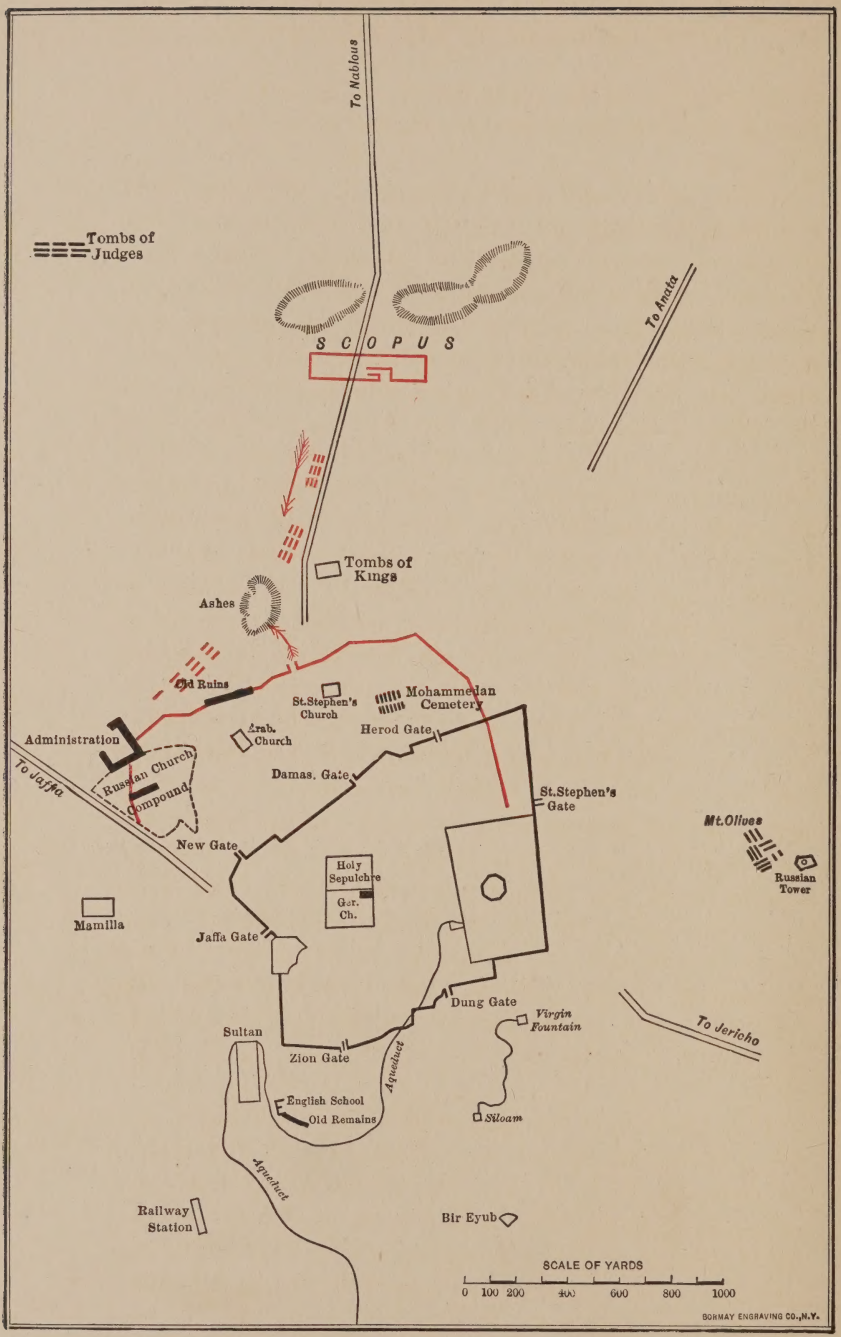
On his march to Jerusalem Titus came through Samaria to Gophna (now Jifna), where he rested for the night. The next day he advanced as far as the Valley of Thorns, adjacent to a village named Gabat-Saul, or Saul's Hill, and camped again. This was about three and a half English miles, a little less rather than more, north of Jerusalem. At this distance north of the city, the road leading to the coast by the Beth Horon Pass branches (to one looking north) to the left from the Nablous road. Here are the remains of a small Roman castle, or very strong guard-house, and it was here that Titus camped. (See Illustration.)

Reconnoitring force

From this point he started out with 600 picked horsemen to reconnoitre the city. This attempt was only partially successful, and he returned to his camp at the fork of the road. Thence, a little later, he moved forward, and with two legions formed another camp on Scopus. The remaining legion lay in his rear at a point some distance south of the modern village of Shafat, which is a little more than two miles north of Jerusalem.

Road from the north

The Nablous, or Damascus, road coming from the north led, then as now, directly to the main gate on the north side of Jerusalem, but at an entirely different point from the present Damascus Gate, because the walls have been changed. This gate was nearly or directly south of the Tombs of the Kings and is spoken



COURSE OF TITUS WHEN HE ATTEMPTED TO RECONNOITRE THE CITY AND WAS DRIVEN BACK

of as "opposite the Monuments of Helena," as the Tombs of the Kings were then called (V. ii. 2).

Titus attacked and column broken

While Titus was passing along the Nablous road, headed apparently for this gate to which the road led, no one appeared to oppose him (V. ii. 2). Since, however, his object was not to enter the city then, but only to make observations outside the walls, his purpose was best accomplished by filing off from the main road to the right (see Plan), and taking an oblique course towards the Tower Psephinus, which stood at the northwest corner of the city, i.e. of the Third or Agrippa's Wall. This movement exposed his flank to the wall and to the gate just mentioned. The Jews saw their advantage, rushed out of this gate in great numbers (see the bent arrow), and succeeded in dividing Titus' column so that the rear portion turned and retreated. The point where the attack was made which resulted in breaking the column was not far from the place now known as the Ash Heaps. Titus himself was some distance beyond this point, between them and the Tower Psephinus. The region here was highly cultivated at that time, being divided into gardens by hedges, stone fences, and ditches everywhere, clear to the city wall, so that his troops could not readily move either way, and Titus came near losing his life, but finally succeeded in escaping with his men and returning to his camp. It was subsequent to this occurrence that Titus moved his camp from the castle at the fork of the road to his camp on Scopus (V. ii. 2; iii. 2).

The Women's Towers

This special designation, the Women's Towers, was given to certain structures connected with the gate in question (V. ii. 2; iii. 3). The Greek word *gunaikeios*, γυναικειος, means "belonging to women," "something for their special use." The custom which led to the construction and designation of these towers we know nothing of; but for women entering or leaving the city such

apartments would be of the highest service. At Mar Saba at the present time there is a Women's Tower adjacent to the Convent, which is absolutely necessary for female pilgrims visiting that shrine.

Scopus

Where was Scopus located?

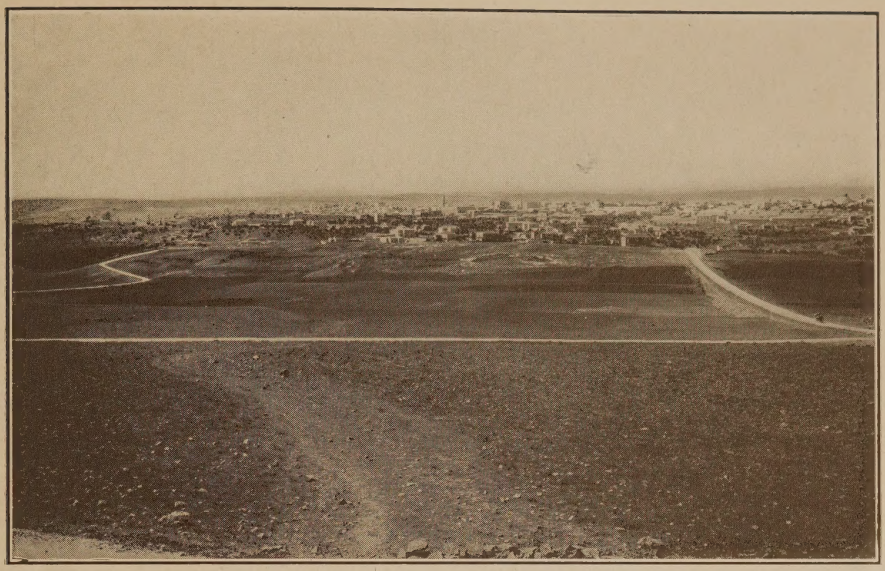
Ans. It was directly north of Jerusalem on the Damascus road.

Do not some writers locate it on the Mount of Olives?

Ans. Yes; but there is no evidence whatever for such a theory, and it is surprising that it should ever have been thought of.

What do you call evidence?

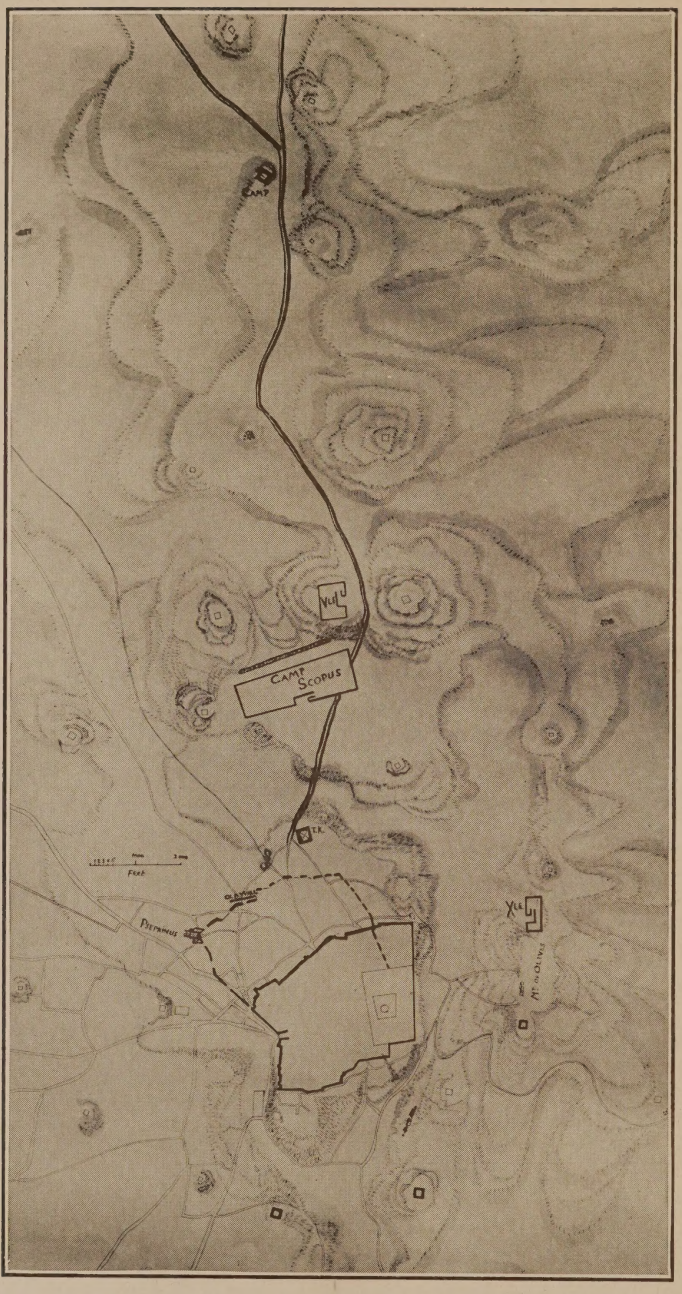
Ans. Titus came from the north along the Damascus or Nablous road till he reached Scopus (V. ii. 3). On a former occasion Cestius and his army came by the same road, having come up from the plain by Beth Horon, and camped at the same place (II. xix. 1, 4). This road did not go over or near the Mount of Olives. To have camped on the Mount of Olives these generals, Cestius and Titus, must have gone one mile or more out of their way, and this is an unreasonable assumption. In both the references just made the distance of Scopus from the city is given as seven furlongs. In V. ii. 3, Josephus speaks of the view which Scopus commanded of the city and particularly of the Temple. Coming from the north the road ascends a little hill whence almost the whole of Jerusalem bursts upon the vision. Thousands of travellers have testified to the striking view which this hill affords. If Scopus were a hill anywhere on the Damascus road, this would be the spot. This hill drops toward the city on to a level section which Josephus calls "Scopus." The view of the city from this flat region is nearly the same as that from the hill just north of it. It was on this flat land that Titus pitched his camp. The Vth Legion coming from Ammaus (on the plain), as it was tired with a night march, Titus ordered to camp three furlongs to the north of his camp, which



SCOPUS, WHERE TITUS CAMPED WITH TWO LEGIONS

The flat land was occupied by the camp.

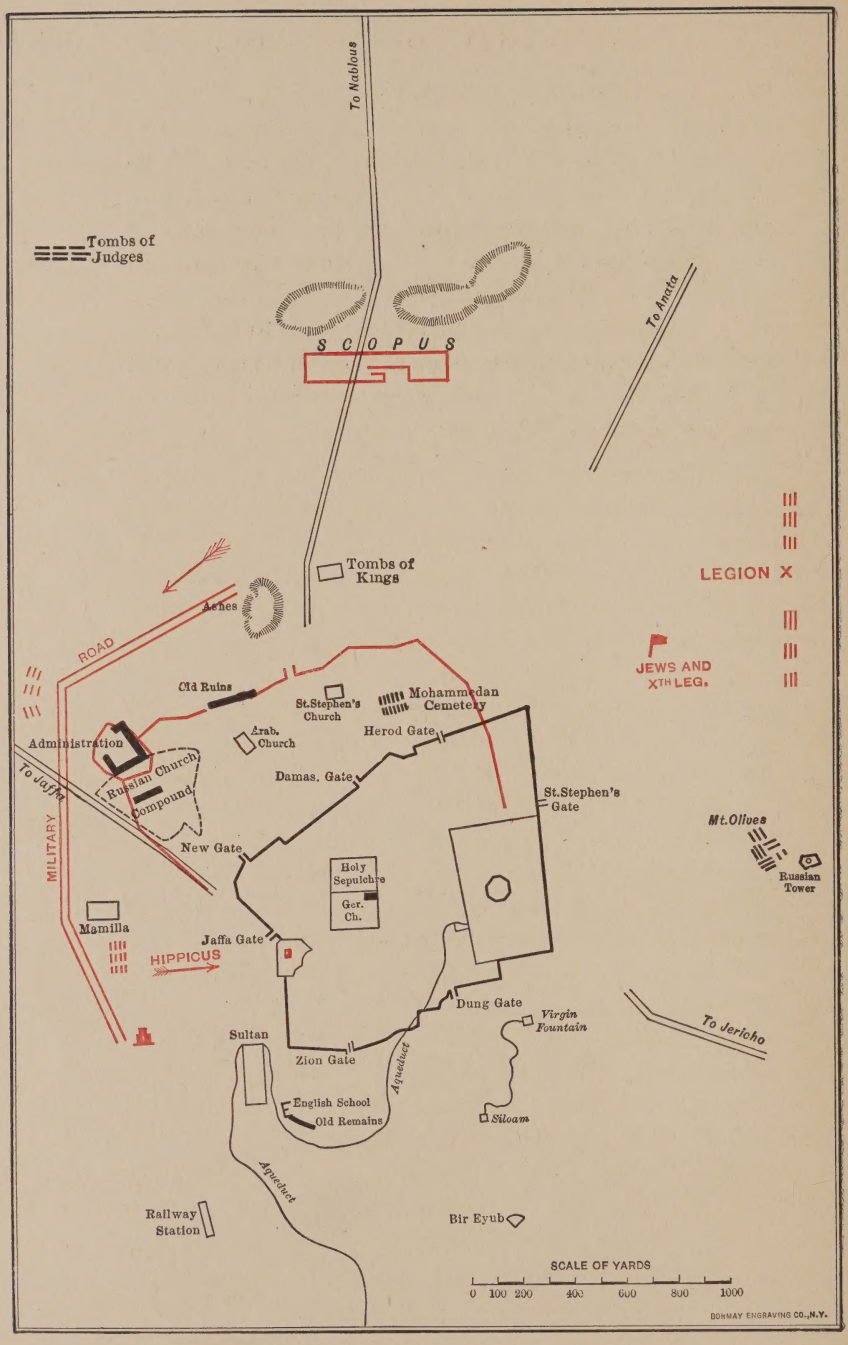
SCOPUS AND THE HILL TO THE NORTH TOWARDS SHAFAT



PLAN SHOWING REGION NORTH OF JERUSALEM

Fork of Beth Horon and Damascus roads. Camp at the castle and Camp at Scopus.

would be towards the present Shafat. In the Illustration (which see) Titus' camp is on the flat land,—that is, on Scopus,—but the Vth Legion is located on the hill which has been described. No doubt the hill was guarded by troops, but the camp must have been a little farther towards Shafat. Had Titus gone eastward in order to camp on the Mount of Olives, the Vth Legion would have been left alone; moreover, at that very moment the Xth Legion arrived from Jericho and camped on the Mount of Olives, which position it held from the beginning to the end of the siege.



SCOPUS, THE MILITARY ROAD, TWO CAMPS, AND THE POSITION OF THE TENTH LEGION ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

CHAPTER II

TENTH LEGION ARRIVES FROM JERICHO

Its Camp on the Mount of Olives—Military Road Constructed —Three Legions with Titus—Two Permanent Camps Formed and Occupied

Xth Legion camps on Olivet

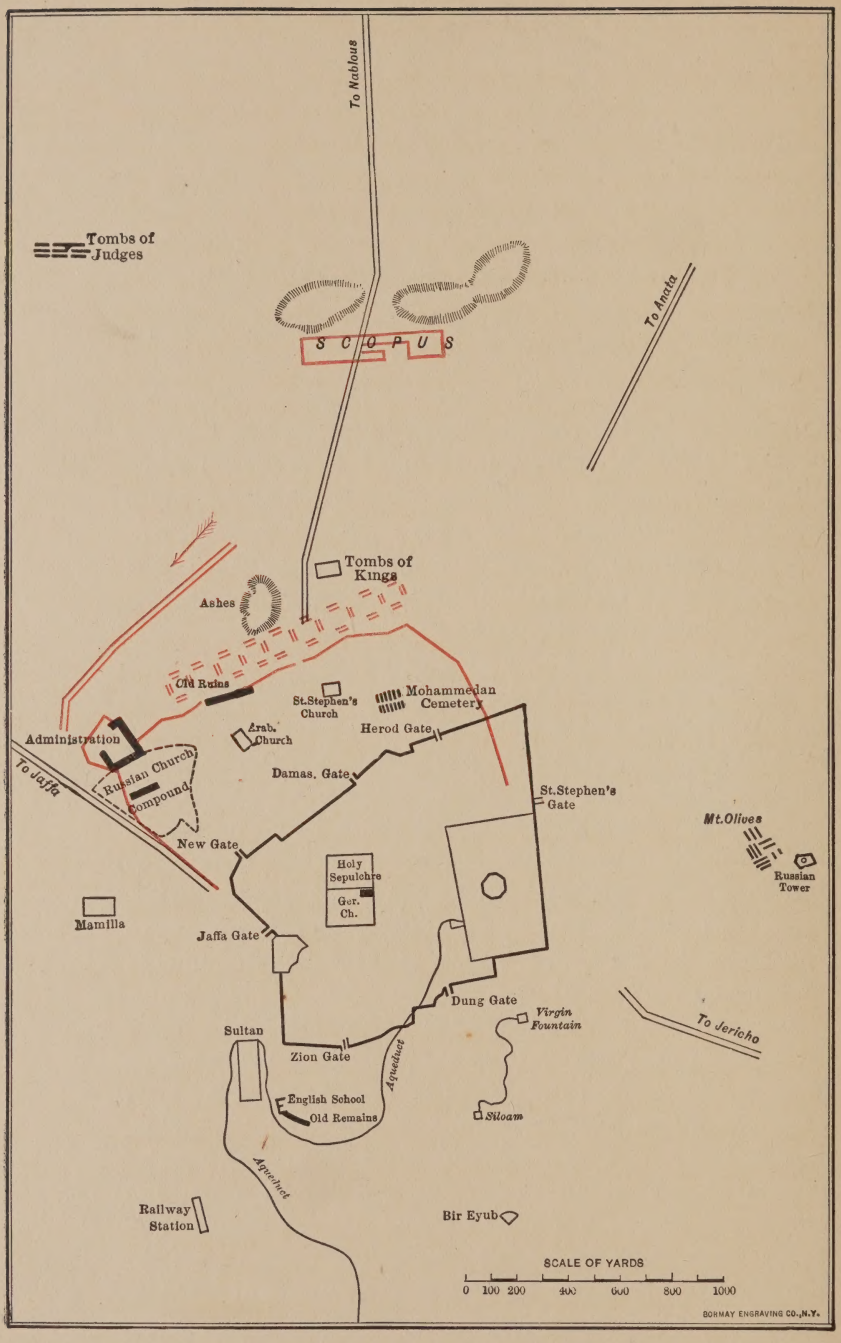
THE Xth Legion came by way of Jericho and camped on the Mount of Olives, 6 furlongs from the city, or about 1,212 yards. This was their permanent camp throughout the siege. (See Plan.)

Soon after its arrival, at some point between this camp and the city, the Jews made a desperate but unsuccessful attack upon this Legion (V. ii. 3, 4, 5).

Military road constructed

After his camp was formed on Scopus, Titus commenced to construct a military road leading thence around the west side of the city to the Monuments of Herod southwest of Jerusalem. The main road leading to the city, already mentioned, was utilized as far as the Monuments of Helena or a little farther; thence the military road branched off to the right or southwest, bent around the Tower Psephinus, and went on to the south to the point indicated, i.e. the Monuments of Herod (V. iii. 2, 5).

Before commencing the road, Titus stationed a body of soldiers near the wall so that the men who were at work might not be interrupted by attacks from the city, such as he had recently experienced (V. iii. 2). This, however, did not prevent the Jews from making, by means of a cunning stratagem, an assault upon the Romans,—that is, upon the body of soldiers stationed to protect the workmen,—and compelling them to retire; the Jews following as far as the Monuments of Helena, or Tombs of the Kings (V. iii. 3).



POSITION OF TROOPS STATIONED IN SEVEN LINES ON THE NORTH OF THE CITY, TO PROTECT THE ARMY WHILE CONSTRUCTING MILITARY ROAD AND MOVING FORWARD TO THE TWO CAMPS

Camp moved from Scopus. Two camps formed

After the road was completed, which required four days, and before the camp was removed from Scopus, Titus, as a precaution against attack, stationed a very strong force near the north wall of the city, extending the line to the west as far as was deemed necessary. This was a large and powerful body of men compared with the small number detailed as a guard to the men who were constructing the road. In front were three lines of infantry, next to them a line of archers, and next three lines of cavalry, making this line seven men deep (V. iii. 5). The camp was moved without molestation.

Two camps were then formed, one just south of the present Birket Mamilla (Upper Gihon, Serpents' Pool), and one at the northwest corner of the city where the wall turned from facing north to facing west. Titus chose this camp for himself. It was about, *hoson*, ὅσον, two furlongs from the wall, and the other camp was the same distance from Hippicus (V. iii. 5). Titus appreciated the circumstance that Psephinus was on the most sightly ground around Jerusalem, and hence most suitable for his camp.

Gates and passages not well guarded

The Romans had four legions, the Vth, Xth, XIIth, and XVth, besides a large number of auxiliary troops, and with our notions of warfare it seems very strange that when they began the siege they did not at once place strong guards at the gates and at every other possible entrance to the city.

But the siege began and continued until after the First and Second Walls were taken before this was done. Even after the Second Wall was taken the Jews could still go out at some of the gates, especially through the ravines, and thus obtain a few scanty supplies.

Moreover, what is also strange to us, during the entire siege there was frequent intercourse between the besieged and the besiegers; there were conversations, par-

leys, jeering, and special interviews, so that communication was constant.

Very frequently the Jews rushed out of certain gates and attacked the Romans, which could not have been the case had the entrances been thoroughly guarded (V. iii. 3; viii. 1; xi. 1; xii. 1; and elsewhere).

In modern times we cannot appreciate the conditions of warfare where most of the fighting was hand-to-hand work.

CHAPTER III

TITUS' PLAN FOR CAPTURING THE CITY

Attacks North of Agrippa's Wall—To Titus This was the "First" Wall—Jews Retire within the Second Wall

TITUS was in doubt where to commence his attack. There was "no access at any point through the ravines." "He determined to make the assault opposite to the Monument of John the High Priest; for at this point the outer bulwark was lower, and the second was not connected, the builders having neglected to fortify those places where the New Town was thinly inhabited; but there was easy access to the Third Wall, through which he designed to capture the Upper Town, and through the Antonia the Temple" (V. vi. 2).

First attack on the north wall

When everything was ready therefore, Titus made his attack on the north wall. The attacking force was divided into three divisions, each doing similar work. One division was near the gate where the road from the north entered the city, and the other two divisions at suitable intervals to the east of that. It is not necessary that the exact positions of these three bodies be located, so long as it is certain that they were all on the north side and were making their attacks on the north wall (V. vi. 2).

In the phrase "opposite the Monument of John," the Greek word for "opposite" is *kata*, κατα, which means *down, downwards,* and if we say that the line of attack was *"down by* the Monument of John," it will describe precisely what took place. (See Chapter XVII. and its Plan.) From the top of the Tower Psephinus, Jerusalem and the surrounding country would be spread out before the eyes of the Roman general. The Mount of Olives and the Xth Legion on the east; Scopus, which he

had just left, on the north; his own camp almost beneath him to the west; and to the east and south at his very feet, Jerusalem itself. The Third or Agrippa's Wall, the New Town between it and the Second Wall, the Antonia, the Temple, the First Wall and the beautiful buildings to the south of it on modern Zion, these and still other objects and points of interest would, from the elevation indicated, be brought into view at a glance. Titus saw that the "outer bulwark was low"; he saw the poorly connected or unconnected point of the Second Wall (V. vi. 2); and the Monument of the High Priest John rising in the midst of the city at or near the point where the Holy Sepulchre now stands. The writer regrets that he cannot take his readers to the highest elevation at present accessible at or near the northwest corner of the city and look over with them the ground in question. Some points which, to be made clear, now require patient and careful explanation would be accepted at once as obvious truths.

Jerusalem on north side had three walls

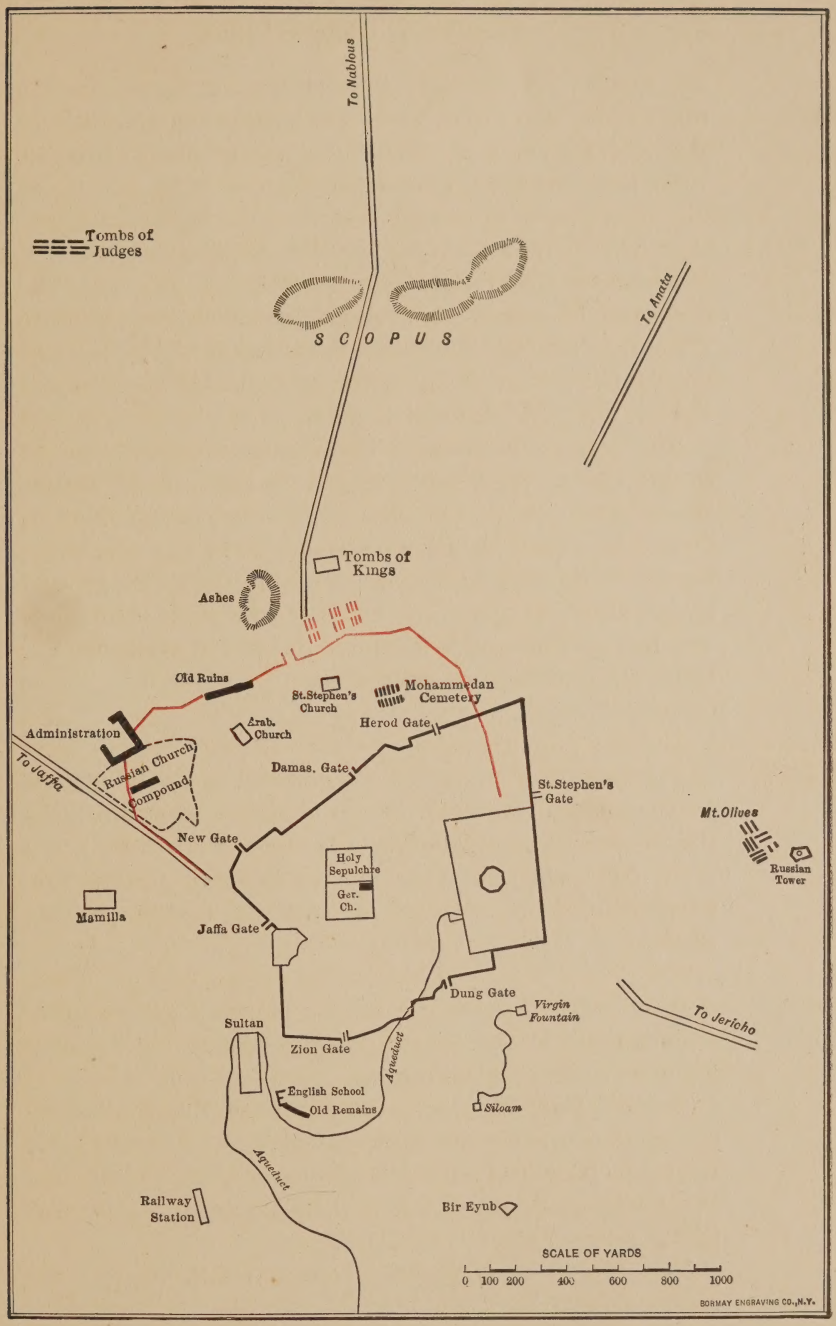
The outer or northernmost wall of the city was built by Agrippa I., and was the Third Wall in order of time. In the siege it is called the *first* of the three walls by which Jerusalem was defended on the north side.

The Second Wall remained the same in designation, from whichever way one counted or designated the walls.

The Third Wall, so far as the siege was concerned, was the wall on the north of the modern Zion, running from the Jaffa Gate to the Temple area at the Council House, the present Mahkameh.

As the Third Wall defended the Upper Town or modern Zion, so the Second Wall defended the Lower Town; while the New Town or the suburbs north of the Second Wall, which had been enclosed by Agrippa, was defended by the First Wall (V. iv. 2; viii. 1).

The Second Wall was nowhere accessible until after the First Wall had been taken.



POSITION OF TITUS WHEN ATTACKING THE "FIRST," OR AGRIPPA'S WALL

The Third Wall was not accessible (from the north) until after the Second Wall had been taken (V. viii. 2). Historically the order of the walls was exactly the reverse of the order here designated.

Agrippa's Wall

This wall was not completed by Agrippa I.; only the foundations and lower courses were laid by him. The character of Agrippa's work was massive, more so than the upper courses which the Jews completed at a later period (V. iv. 2). Still, it was a wall of great strength though not of great height (V. vi. 2).

For a large portion of its course this wall was on level ground. Nothing is said about ravines, eminences, rocky knolls, or little hills. This is negative evidence; but in this case negative evidence is the best evidence, for it is fully confirmed by an examination of the ground at the present time. All the region north of Jerusalem (so far as Agrippa's Wall is concerned) is generally level, without hills or hillocks even, without low places or small ravines.

Mounds before First Wall

Although the mounds here constructed were not of great size, the towers that were placed upon them raised the assailants so high that the Jews could not reach them from their wall or from the small towers connected with it (V. vii. 1, 2). This is a confirmation of the statement that this wall was low (V. vi. 2).

Jews retire from First Wall

In connection with the taking of this wall we come upon a most remarkable statement, namely: "The Jews were completely worn out with passing their nights at a distance from the city, engaged in fighting and watching; moreover, they thought it superfluous to guard this wall as (if taken) two others would still remain; accordingly, the greater part of them slackened their exertions and retired" (V. vii. 2).

Now the distance, as shown on the Plan, was at most 1,600 to 1,800 feet. This was all the distance necessary

to bring them safe within the Second Wall,—all the distance that they would have to travel over.

This statement takes our breath away. Are we dealing with children? No; but with Jewish warriors who have always been praised as brave.

Behind them was their Temple, famed throughout the world; their city, with its glorious history; their families and homes. What valor!

Veterans of our Civil War; veterans, Briton or Boer, from South African wastes,—what shall we say of these defenders of country and liberty on the walls of ancient Jerusalem—eighteen hundred feet from home and "tired out"? No lack of supplies; no lack of ammunition; no marching to do;—but "tired out." Poor fellows!

Supposing the Third Wall was on the line of the present wall, as has been alleged, the distance to travel over to bring them far within the Second Wall would be 600 to 1,000 feet. In that case, more childish still their conduct.

Why are you so particular to say that Titus made his attack on the north wall?

Ans. For two reasons; first, because he did so, and secondly, because that was the only direction from which an army could approach the city.

Why could not Jerusalem be approached from some other direction?

Ans. Because of its peculiar situation. It was on a hill or hills whose slopes on the east, south, and west sides were so precipitous that soldiers could not possibly gain a foothold for carrying on siege operations. On the north side the country was generally level.

Do you mean it to be understood that all attacks of hostile armies upon Jerusalem were made from the north?

Ans. Precisely that. Titus, Herod the Great, Pom-

pey, the Egyptian and Syrian kings, and the armies from Babylon and Assyria, back to the remotest times—all approached the city from this direction.

For Plans illustrating the distances, see Chapter XXV.

CHAPTER IV

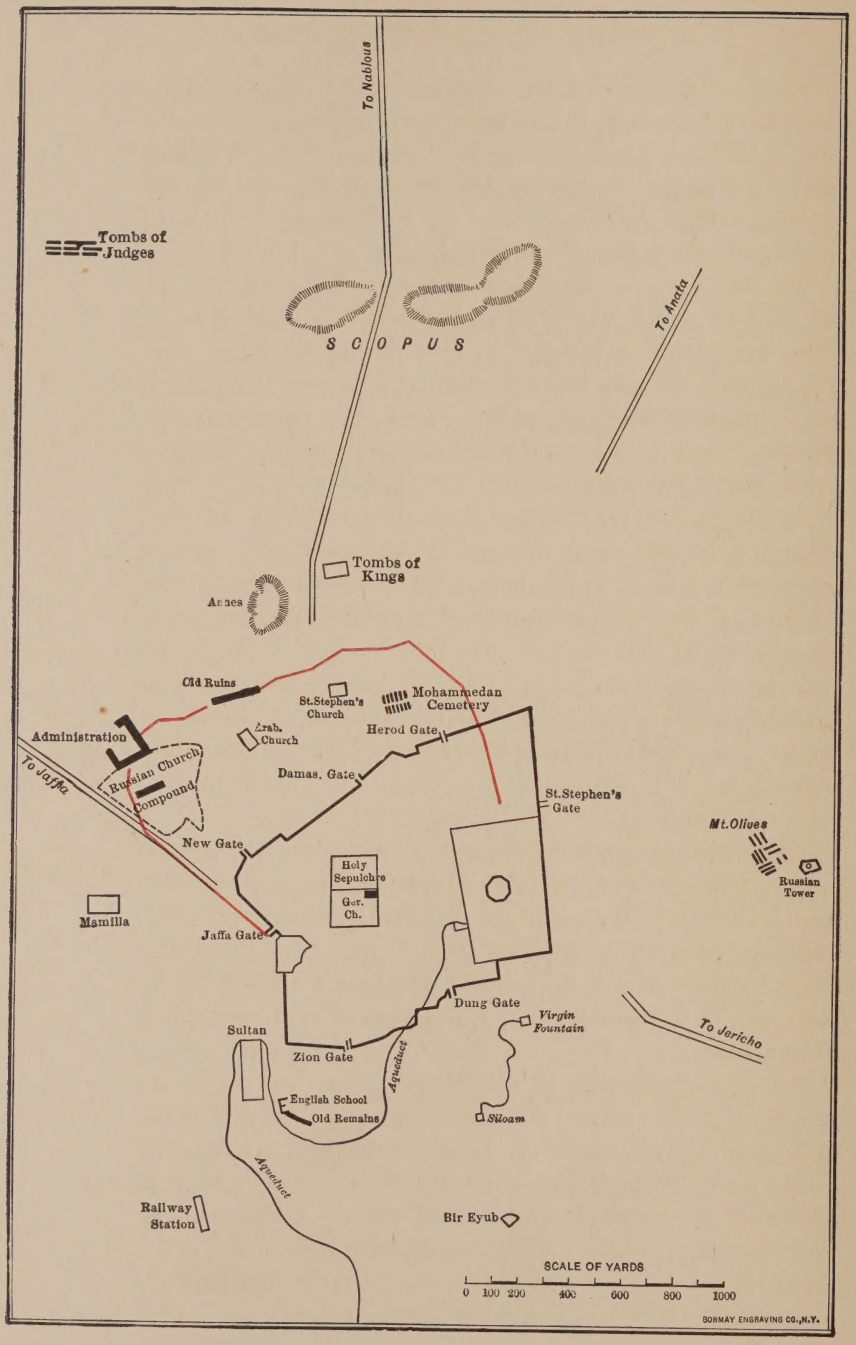
THE THIRD OR AGRIPPA'S WALL

Enclosed the New Town—Relation to Monuments of Helena and the Royal Monuments

THE account of the Third Wall, including the reason for its construction, is very full. "It began at the Tower Hippicus, stretched thence towards the northern quarter as far as the Tower Psephinus, passing then opposite the Monuments of Helena, queen of Adiabene and mother of King Izates, and extending through the Royal Caverns it was inflected at the Corner Tower near to the spot known by the appellation of the Fuller's Tomb and, connecting itself with the Old Wall, terminated at the valley called Kedron. The Third Wall

"This wall Agrippa had thrown round the new-built town, which was quite unprotected; for the city, overflowing with inhabitants, gradually crept beyond the ramparts; and the people, incorporating with the city the quarter north of the Temple close to the hill, made a considerable advance, insomuch that a fourth hill, which is called Bezetha, was also surrounded with habitations. It lay over against the Antonia, from which it was separated by a deep fosse purposely excavated to cut off the communication between the foundations of the Antonia and the hill, that they might be at once less easy of access, and more elevated."

In the same chapter there follows immediately after what has been quoted above, apparently another or at least a rewritten account of the same matter as follows:—"The quarter most recently built was called in our language Bezetha, which if translated into the Greek tongue would be *Cænopolis*,—New Town. Those who resided there requiring defence, the father of the



AGRIPPA'S WALL

This was the "First Wall" of Titus, but the Third in the order of building.

present sovereign and of the same name, Agrippa, commenced the wall we have mentioned. But, apprehending that Claudius Cæsar might suspect from the magnitude of the structure that he entertained some designs of innovation and insurrection, he desisted when he had merely laid the foundations."

The stones of which it was constructed are described as of very great size, and had it been completed upon that scale, it was thought that it would have been impregnable. "Subsequently, after the enterprising spirit of its founder had met with a check, the work was carried on with ardor by the Jews, still it rose only to the height of twenty cubits" (V. iv. 2).

In a previous reference to this matter the ambition of Agrippa to surround Jerusalem with a wall of great magnitude and strength is mentioned, but it is said that "before it reached the intended elevation he expired at Cesarea" (II. xi. 6).

In reference to the height of this wall, Titus, when he was looking for a suitable point for making an attack upon it, observed that at a certain place "it was low" (V. vi. 2).

Course of Third Wall

In the paragraph where the Monuments of Helena and the Royal Caverns are mentioned, some confusion has arisen as to the meaning of certain Greek words and consequently the course of the Third Wall has been incorrectly laid down. Indeed, the line proposed for it, and by not a few writers even insisted upon, is simply impossible.

The starting-point of the Third Wall was near the present Jaffa Gate. Its course was in the following order: first, northwesterly, then northerly, easterly, and at last southerly till it reached the Old Wall—that is, the wall on the north side of the Temple area. On the northwest it passed the Tower Psephinus, which stood approximately on the ground now occupied by the Russian Administration Building. On the north its course

is indicated by the remains which, till recently, existed north of the present Arabic church. Thence its course eastward is described as "opposite the Monuments of Helena." About two hundred yards north of the Jeremiah Grotto Hill, it turned in a southerly direction, running a little east of what is known as Herod's Gate, and terminated in the Old Wall as already indicated.

Remains of Agrippa's or the Third Wall

Dr. Robinson (1838) came first upon the remains of this wall at a point between the Tombs of the Kings and the northwest corner of the city. The remains "consisted of large blocks of hewn stone." The line of similar foundations and displaced stones was afterwards traced by him and his companion in a westerly direction to the top of the high ground, where there existed the evident and extensive substructions of towers and other fortifications; thence to the northwest corner of the city the foundation of this ancient wall was distinctly visible. The measurements given by Dr. Robinson would locate the remains found on "the top of the high ground" precisely in the present Russian grounds. The 250 or 300 feet of this wall which he first observed are still indicated on many maps as "old foundations," a little to the north of the present Arabic church (*Researches,* I. 314, 315).

It is fair to remind the reader that in Dr. Robinson's time, including the time when the map of the English engineers was made (1841), there was not a house nor a structure of any kind between the Tombs of the Kings and the city wall, nor in the extensive region to the west, which is now practically covered with buildings, including those of the Russian compound. There were no landmarks which would make a word description intelligible; but Dr. Robinson's angles and measurements fix the locality intended beyond dispute.

The map of the English engineers of 1841, just referred to, lays down the line of this wall for about 2,800 feet as indicated by actual remains, of which about 1,000

feet are solid or unbroken foundations. Their line and that given by Robinson coincide.

When the present Austrian Hospice was erected in 1854 to 1856, workmen were allowed to break up many of the large stones of this wall for use in the new building. As no one objected it was easier to use these old foundations as a quarry than to go to a distance for building material. There is evidence that to the east of the point marked "olive grove" on Dr. Robinson's map, old foundations existed which were utilized by the builders of the new Austrian Hospice.

The present writer well remembers that on his first visit to Jerusalem in 1869 one of the things which his friends suggested should be done was a visit to "the remains of Agrippa's Wall." Accordingly horses were mounted and the party rode to a point northwest of the city where there was a section of about 100 yards of ancient wall unbroken and composed of massive stones, two or three courses in height. During the past thirty years inquiries have been made by the writer from a score or more elderly residents, natives and also foreigners, as to the existence and character of these old remains. The fact of their existence was well known to all; all were agreed as to their location, and some of these individuals gave a very intelligent account of what they had seen. They testified that the stones were large, some of them very large; that in some places they formed bits of continuous wall; that at other points they were scattered about; that from time to time many of them had been broken up; and that here and there on the line the foundation of towers existed. Their testimony is fuller and more uniform than we should naturally expect, considering that the persons were not scholars and that most of them did not take a special interest in such matters.

A few years since a section of this wall was uncovered during some building operations northwest of the city. The exact point where it was found is about 200 or 250

feet a little north of west of the Arabic church. The stones were large, with marginal draft or bevel and full rough faces. These were described by the writer in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, April 1903, p. 158, with a Plan.

Some massive blocks belonging to this wall, partly buried but still visible on the surface, were broken up when the house north of the Arabic church now used as a water-cure establishment was erected about the year 1872.

About 600 feet north of the north base of the Jeremiah Grotto Hill, and about 500 feet north and northeast of the present Dominican structures, a number of the stones of Agrippa's Wall still exist. In the summer of 1903 the writer found as many as twenty such stones in this place lying only a few yards apart. Two groups of three or four stones in each might be thought to be in position; but in general they were scattered about, some had been broken, and others looked like native rock cropping out of the ground. Only a practised eye would have perceived their size, their shape, their bevel and full faces, unmistakable evidences of their origin. They were all moss-covered, which made their real character less obvious. A number of these stones have since disappeared, as building operations are rapidly going on in that region. It was not far from this point that Agrippa's Wall turned from facing north to facing east on its way south to join the old wall of the Temple area. At or near this angle or turning of Agrippa's Wall, where was a "corner tower," stood a landmark, some memorial or monument of a clothes dresser, the words being usually rendered in English by "the Fuller's Monument" (V. iv. 2).

When Titus' conquering army threw down Agrippa's Wall it does not follow that its foundations were removed or that the stones were scattered to a great distance. Such work of destruction and obliteration might go on for centuries. In case a new wall was built many

of the stones of the old wall would appear in the new one. In process of time very many of the stones would be broken up to be used in some other way, since it would be difficult to remove the massive blocks entire. This process of breaking up stones has not infrequently been witnessed in recent times. It would, no doubt, happen also that not a few stones would remain where they had fallen. There is nothing strange in the fact that at certain points the foundations of Agrippa's Wall remained intact and that quite a large number of fallen stones escaped removal or destruction.

It is as certain as anything in the history of Jerusalem can be that the foundations and fallen stones of Agrippa's Wall have been traced along a certain line. All the testimony, which is ample, harmonizes as to the location of this wall and the peculiar character of the stones of which it was constructed.

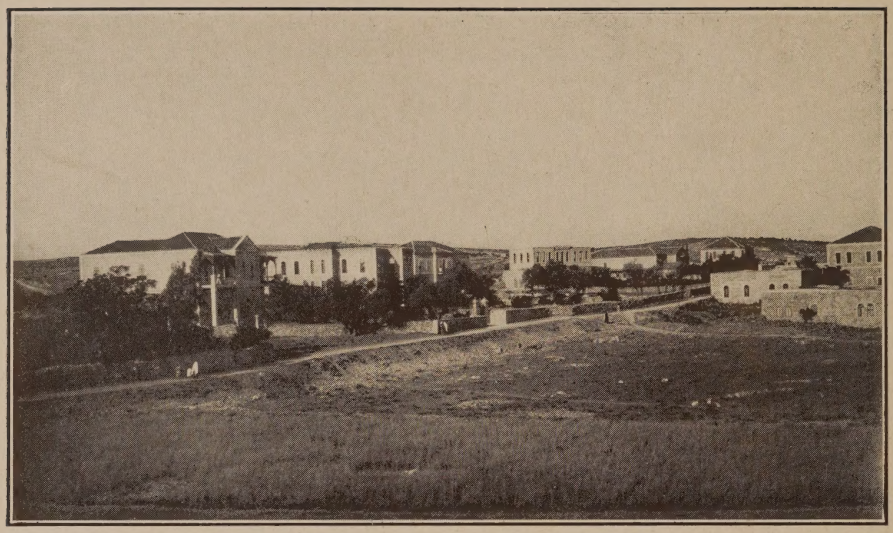
It is certain also that these remains did not come where they have been found by accident. They are no myth, but, on the contrary, a most tangible reality. What is surprising is that these remains have been ignored by certain writers without any reason whatever; some having gone so far as to deny their existence.

As no city wall runs in a perfectly straight line, we can say that Agrippa's Wall zigzagged from the Tower Psephinus in a northeasterly and easterly direction till the Corner Tower, near which stood the Fuller's Monument, was reached, and that thence its direction was south or southerly. In this course it passed "over against" the Monuments of Helena, and later, farther to the east and before it reached the Corner Tower, it passed certain other monuments to which the term "basilicon" was applied. This word means "royal," but it was not applied to Helena, nor was it applied to a Jewish High Priest; it was reserved and used for a person who bore to the Jews the relation of sovereign. This person was King Alexander.—Chapter XVIII. should be read in this connection.

Royal Monuments instead of Royal "Caverns"

In speaking of the Monuments of Helena, Josephus introduces a parenthesis describing who she was, and if we omit these words the paragraph will read:—"the wall stretched as far as the Tower Psephinus, passing then opposite the Monuments of Helena . . . and extending through the Royal Caverns it was inflected at the Corner Tower." *Antikru*, *αντικρυ*, may be either *opposite* or *over against*. *Dia*, *δια*, may be *through*, *through and beyond*, or *past*. It is clear that the wall extended in a pretty direct line and in an easterly direction from the Tower Psephinus to the Corner Tower at the extreme northeast corner of the city wall, where it formed an angle and turned south. The following is the exact sense:—"thence passing over against the Monuments of Helena . . . and continuing right along past the Royal *speelaioon*, *σπηλαιων*, to the Corner Tower where it turned." *Katheecon* and *meecunomenon*, *καθηκον*, *μηκυνομενον*, have here practically the same meaning, namely, describing the wall as continuing from one point to another. *Speelaioon* means cave, or cavern of some sort, and in case the place was used, as might be possible, for burial, it would mean a grave. But this would not be its first or specific meaning.

Some writers have been strenuous in asserting that the so-called quarries under the city to the east of the Damascus Gate were here referred to. But *speelaioon* is never used of quarry; and if this theory is true in any sense it must be so from the use to which the cave was put. In a limestone country caves are of such frequent occurrence that they attract no attention. It is unthinkable to suppose that a Jew would speak of such a common thing as "royal." Moreover, it is doubtful if these particular quarries or caves were known in ancient times; all the evidence we have seems to indicate that the cutting through this hill (resulting in the exposure of these caves) was made at different times and long subsequent to the first century of the Christian era. It is absolutely certain that the cutting through the next



GROUP OF MODERN HOUSES NORTHEAST OF THE CITY

Illustrating the growth around Bezetha, as described by Josephus.

GROUP OF MODERN HOUSES NORTH OF CITY

ridge at the northeast corner of the present city wall was made in comparatively recent times. See the Illustrations showing moat on east and north at the northeast corner of the present city.

It is expressly stated that the Bezetha hill or rather ridge, *lophos*, λοφος, in which these caves are found was covered with dwellings and that dwellings had sprung up on its west, north, and east sides, all of which formed a portion of the New City which needed protection, and which therefore must be surrounded by the massive wall which Agrippa built. This fact makes it impossible that the wall should have gone *through* or *over* this ridge, a supposition often made and even claimed as fact. To have accomplished its purpose this wall must have gone considerably to the north and east of this Bezetha ridge as we have laid it down on the Plan.

The growth of the city around this hill or ridge, as described by Josephus, is strikingly illustrated by what is taking place at the present time. A considerable number of well-to-do families, chiefly Mohammedans, have left their residences in the town and located themselves in this very region—namely, to the north and northeast of the Bezetha ridge, now called the Hill above Jeremiah's Grotto. In one of the accompanying photographs is shown the settlement to the northeast of the ridge, where, in 1904, there were twenty first-class houses, while the other photograph shows the group to the north of the ridge, where the number of houses is about the same.

Cave, cavern, or cave used as a burial place, in this passage, do not meet the conditions required by the word "royal," and are out of the question. The word "royal" was used to institute a contrast between the Monuments of Helena, a petty foreign queen, and those of Alexander, who was the king of the Jewish nation. The monuments of Helena, Herod the Great, and the High Priest John, were designated by the term *mneemeion*, μνημειον, and so were those of King Alexander in the only place where

they are certainly mentioned. A word of less importance cannot be thought of as proper to associate with the term royal; we must therefore change *speelaioon* to *mneemeion,* "cave" to "monument." Topography and archæology demand that the Monuments of King Alexander should be located at this point, and we feel confident that Josephus referred to them when writing this passage:—"thence passing over against the Monuments of Helena . . . and continuing right along past the Royal Monuments to the Corner Tower where it turned."

This account of the Third or Agrippa's Wall needs to be supplemented by some reference to the northeast corner of Jerusalem and the wall which bounds it on the east. At present the east wall of the Temple area is continued north in a straight line to the corner of the city; and the assumption often made is that the east wall of the ancient city followed this line. Almost every map lays down the ancient east wall in this manner, although there is no foundation for doing so and it is certainly incorrect. The confusion has arisen from an effort to locate Agrippa's Wall where it never existed, and from a failure to appreciate Josephus' statements about the Kedron.

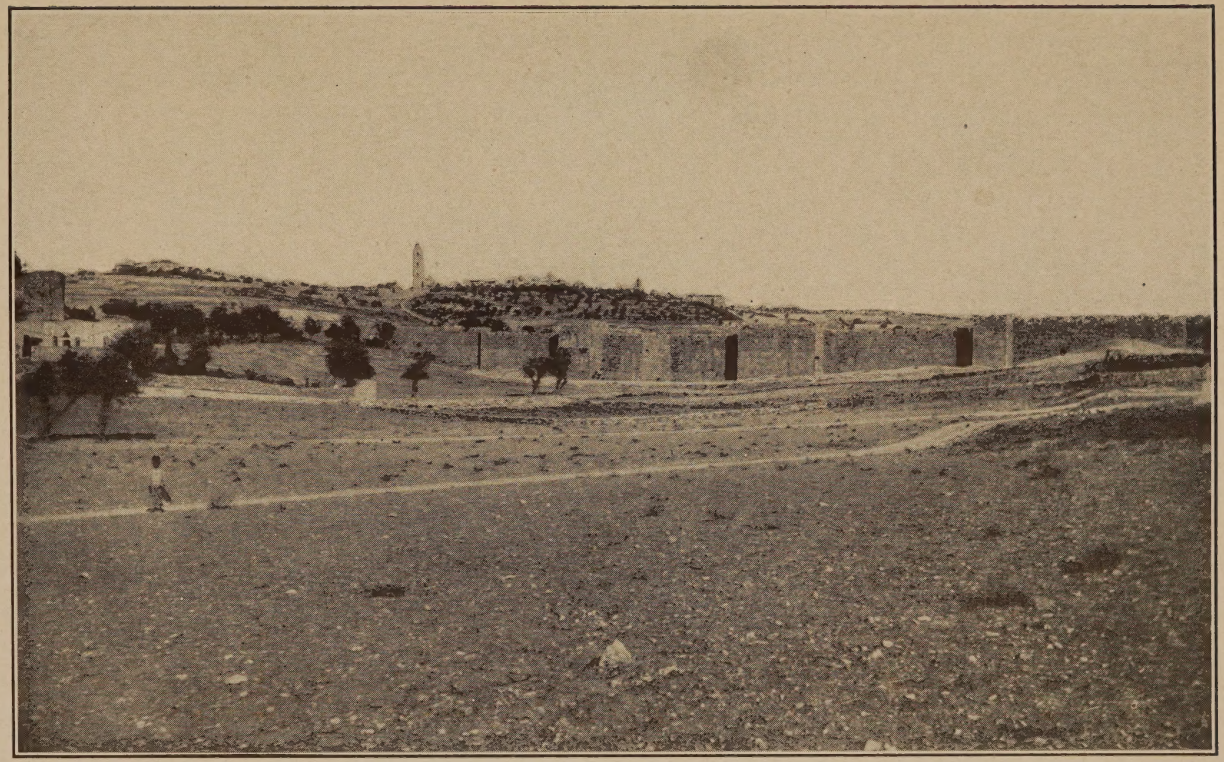
The following facts are to be noted:—

1. In Herod's time the north wall of the Temple area and the north wall of the city were one and the same.

2. Anything projecting north of this line, let us say north of an east and west line drawn between the Tower of Antonia and the northeast corner of the Temple area, is a subsequent addition.

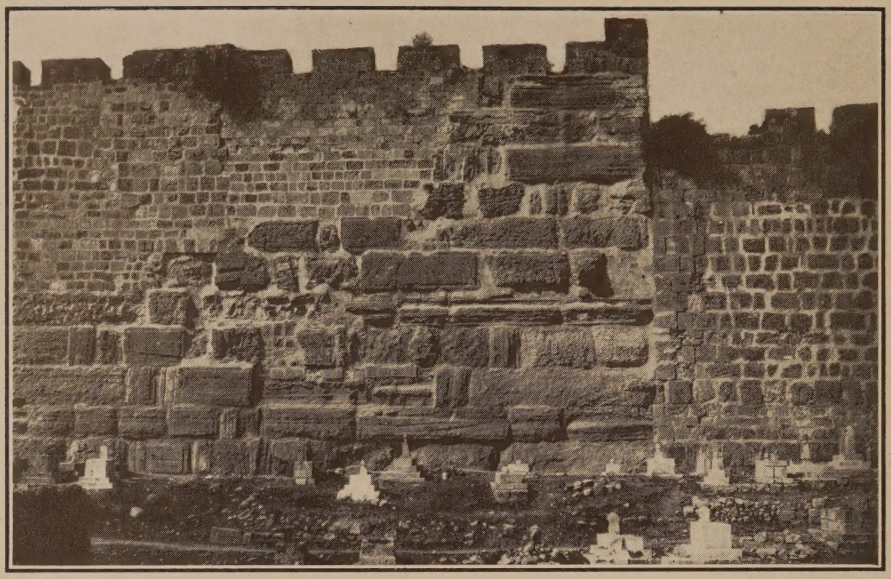
3. The valley coming down through the city from the northwest, not perceptible now, in the region of St. Stephen's Gate, and running under the northeast corner of the Temple area, was called "Kedron." (See Plan in Chapter XII.)

4. Herod to enlarge the Temple area built across it (that is, the Kedron) a wall which was raised to a great



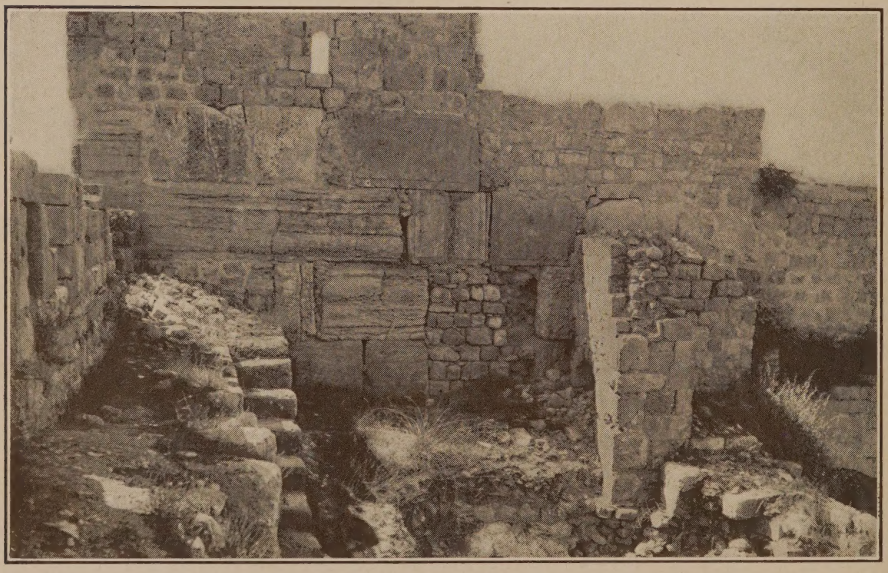
UPPER PORTION OF WESTERN BRANCH OF THE KEDRON VALLEY NORTH OF THE CITY

Its course is northwest to southeast. At the northeast corner of the Temple area this valley has been filled for upwards of 100 feet in depth. The Pool of Bethesda, north of St. Anne's Church, was in this valley, and is now 60 feet below the surface of the ground at that point. At the left, where two trees are standing, the valley has been filled for 25 or more feet. It is most important to recognize the existence of this valley and its significance for the topography of this part of Jerusalem.



EAST FACE OF THE WALL N. E. CORNER OF TEMPLE AREA

South of St. Stephen's Gate. Originally, there was at this point a deep valley, the western branch of the Kedron, over which the wall was built. This valley, over 100 feet deep, came down from the northwest.



NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE WALL OF THE TEMPLE AREA

Facing north, just south of St. Stephen's Gate.

height and filled in on the inner or Temple area side. The great depression on the outside remained and existed during the siege. In that region the ground is now level and one cannot realize that the bottom of this valley is over one hundred feet below the level of the surface where one is standing.

5. Agrippa's Wall, coming from a northwesterly direction, cut the line of the present city wall a little east of Herod's Gate, followed the brow of the hill (which slopes eastward towards the Kedron, as here explained) southwards to the Jewish Tower, a well-known object about 540 feet west of St. Stephen's Gate. Agrippa's Wall terminated at the Old Wall and at the Kedron. (See Illustration in Chapter XII.)

6. It is very necessary to bear in mind that up to the time of the siege and for many centuries subsequent to that event, the northeast corner of the city—that is, the slope from the Kedron (as just explained) up to the present city wall—was *not* enclosed by a wall and was no part of Jerusalem.

7. It is a great mistake to suppose that the entire plateau north of the present city, bounded on the east and north by the so-called valley of Jehoshaphat, was ever enclosed by a wall. This was never true, although some writers have thought so and have even searched for a wall along the eastern and northern edge of this plateau.

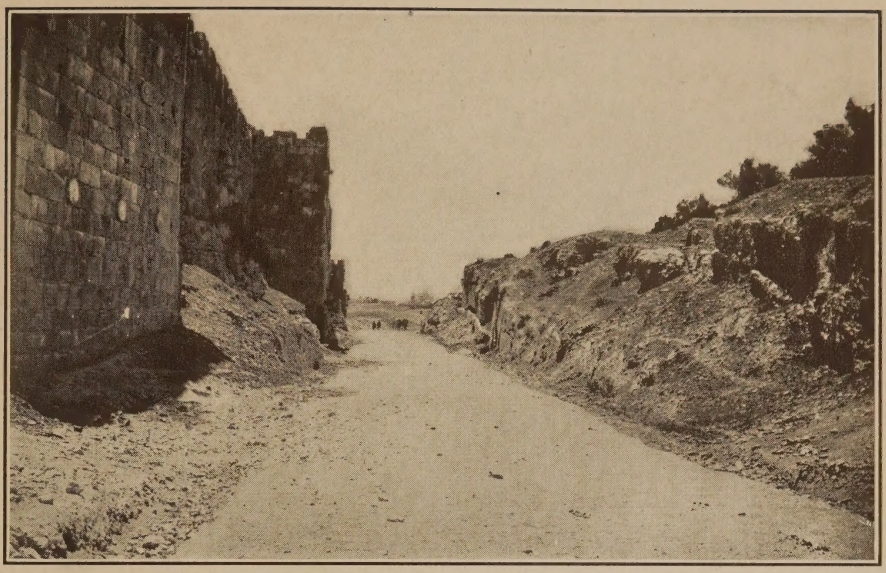
8. At the northeast corner of the Temple area the wall of Herod is still intact, both the east face where the wall runs north and south and the north face where the wall runs east and west towards the Tower of Antonia. Both sections appear in the Illustrations. From this point the wall running north past St. Stephen's Gate to the corner of the present city wall shows plainly its composite and modern origin. An examination of the stones of which it is composed would have saved many writers from falling into serious error.

9. After its destruction the remains of Agrippa's

Wall lay scattered where they had fallen, i.e. to the west of the present wall across the Kedron valley as that valley is described in Chapter XII. Had the existing wall been built immediately or within a reasonable time after its destruction we should expect to find in it a large proportion of Jewish stones, which is not the case. In the various buildings and rebuildings that went on in that part of the city between the time of Titus and that of the Crusaders and Arabs, these scattered stones would naturally have been used up in different ways, and we should not expect to find them, or many of them, in a wall of late origin. This is fully confirmed by the remains. When the trench was made the stones cut out would at once be placed in position and we should expect to find them in the bottom courses of the present wall. Precisely this is the case. The trenches when excavated furnished a large part of the stones of which the walls enclosing the northeast angle of the city were built. Crusading and Arab stones form the bulk of the material; there are in the north wall a few examples of Byzantine work; but the admixture of stones of the Jewish period is entirely wanting in some sections, and very small in others; while in those sections where any considerable number of them exist, their position affords a singularly striking explanation of the reason why they were placed as we find them.

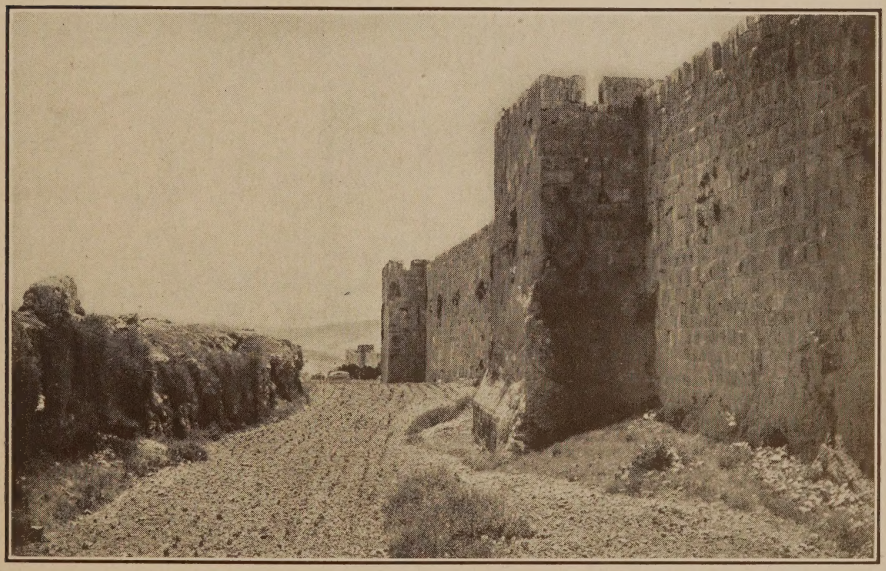
10. The matter of the walls enclosing the northeast corner of the city and the trench to the east and north of the same, is very important and deserves a careful and detailed explanation. Some illustrations and measurements will serve to make it clear.

On the north side—that is, west from the northeast corner—the width of the cutting for the moat varies from 25 to 40 feet, the widest point being near the old cistern in the Kedron valley close to the north wall. In the bottom of this cistern the native rock appears, showing that it was made in the slope facing west of the ridge through which the moat was cut.



VIEW FROM NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE CITY WALL

Looking west, showing rock-cutting and moat; now a road. Between the towers rock scarp appears.

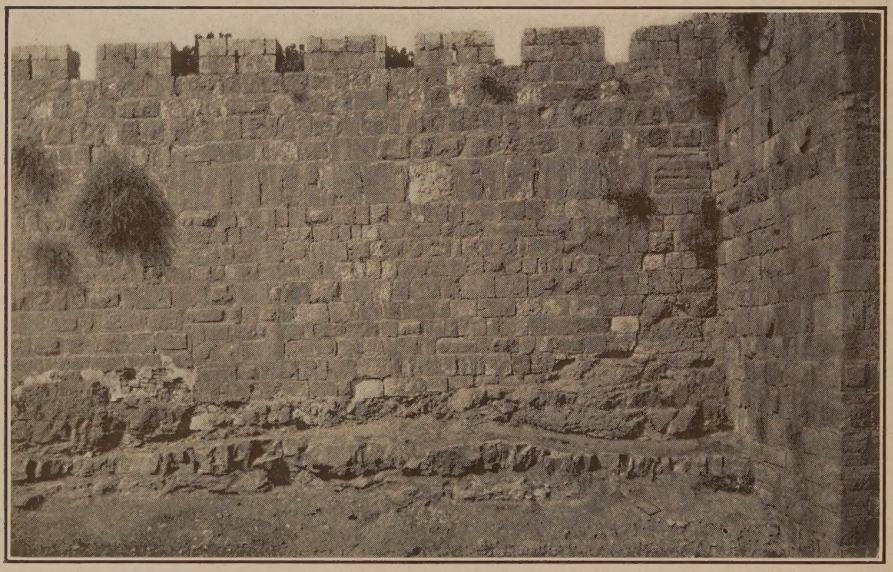


FROM THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF WALL, LOOKING SOUTH

For 20 feet high native rock forms the base of first tower. Rock-cutting for the moat 30 to 40 feet wide. Bottom of the moat is now cultivated. From the top on which the tower stands there are 10 courses to the top.

SECOND TOWER AND SECOND SECTION OF NORTH WALL

West from the N. E. corner. Native rock, scarped, appears. No Jewish stones in the tower, and none in the lower courses of the wall; a few appear in some of the upper courses.



NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE CITY

Part of the tower and section of wall to the south. Wall rests on native rock. Lower courses, small stones excavated from the moat. In the eleventh course large Jewish stones.

The lay of the rock is quite uneven; beginning with the corner tower underneath which the rock on which it rests is not now visible, and going west towards the old cistern, the outline of the rock is represented by 10, 12, 18, 12, and 8 feet above the level of the present road. The distance from the corner to the old cistern is about 600 feet. In the corner tower there are no Hebrew stones, with the exception of ten or twelve in its south face. The towers to the west have no Hebrew stones. The new stones are plainly shown in the Illustrations. In the first section of wall west of the corner there are a few Hebrew stones in the bottom course on the rock; this is the exception; the rule is that no Hebrew stones are found in the lower courses on the north side; they appear, if at all, in the uppermost courses as a kind of top dressing.

The rock scarp and the wall together make a wall of considerable height, but in no part are there many courses of stone. In the section west of the corner there are twelve, in that just south of the corner there are fifteen, and on the rock where the first tower south of the corner appears as in the Illustration, there are but ten courses. The rock itself under that tower is 20 feet high.

The moat on the east side from the corner going south: the first section appears in the Illustration. All the lower courses are made of new stones and there are no Jewish stones till the eleventh course, the fifth from the top, which is composed of large Jewish stones. This moat on the east side varies from 30 to 40 feet in width. The rock on which the wall rests also varies much, being represented, going south from the corner, by 8, 20, 10, 15, and 17 feet, at the points measured, the highest part being shown in the first tower on the right in the Illustration of this moat. The length of the cutting for the moat on the east is not far from 400 feet; the depth cannot be precisely determined, as it has been filled to some extent with rubbish. As the moat goes south it

becomes shallower because the ridge drops to the southeast.

The stones in the towers on the north and east sides are all new. They are the same kind of stone as the rock of the moat whence they were cut. It is apparent that the plan of the wall was first made, then the rock was cleared and scarped foundations cut on which the towers were to stand, and as the stones were excavated the towers were built; after that all the bottom courses were laid of the new stone, and as the workmen neared the top Jewish stones were brought across the valley (from the west) and placed in the upper courses as we now find them.

Bezetha was a ridge, very long from northwest to southeast. Curiously enough this ridge towards the north does not flatten out into a plain, but ends abruptly, as everybody knows who remembers the shape of the ground where the Mohammedan cemetery now is.

East of this ridge was a valley, the Kedron as already described, and east of that another ridge through which the moat was cut. This ridge starts from the flat land to the north and runs down to the southeast, ending originally in a point just east of St. Stephen's Gate. The moat east of the city running north and south cuts this ridge obliquely. The slope of this ridge facing the west, now enclosed and forming the northeast part of the city as we know it, *was no part of Jerusalem in ancient times.*

CHAPTER V

THE TOWER PSEPHINUS

Location—Form—Object—Relation to Titus' Military Road and His Camp No. 1

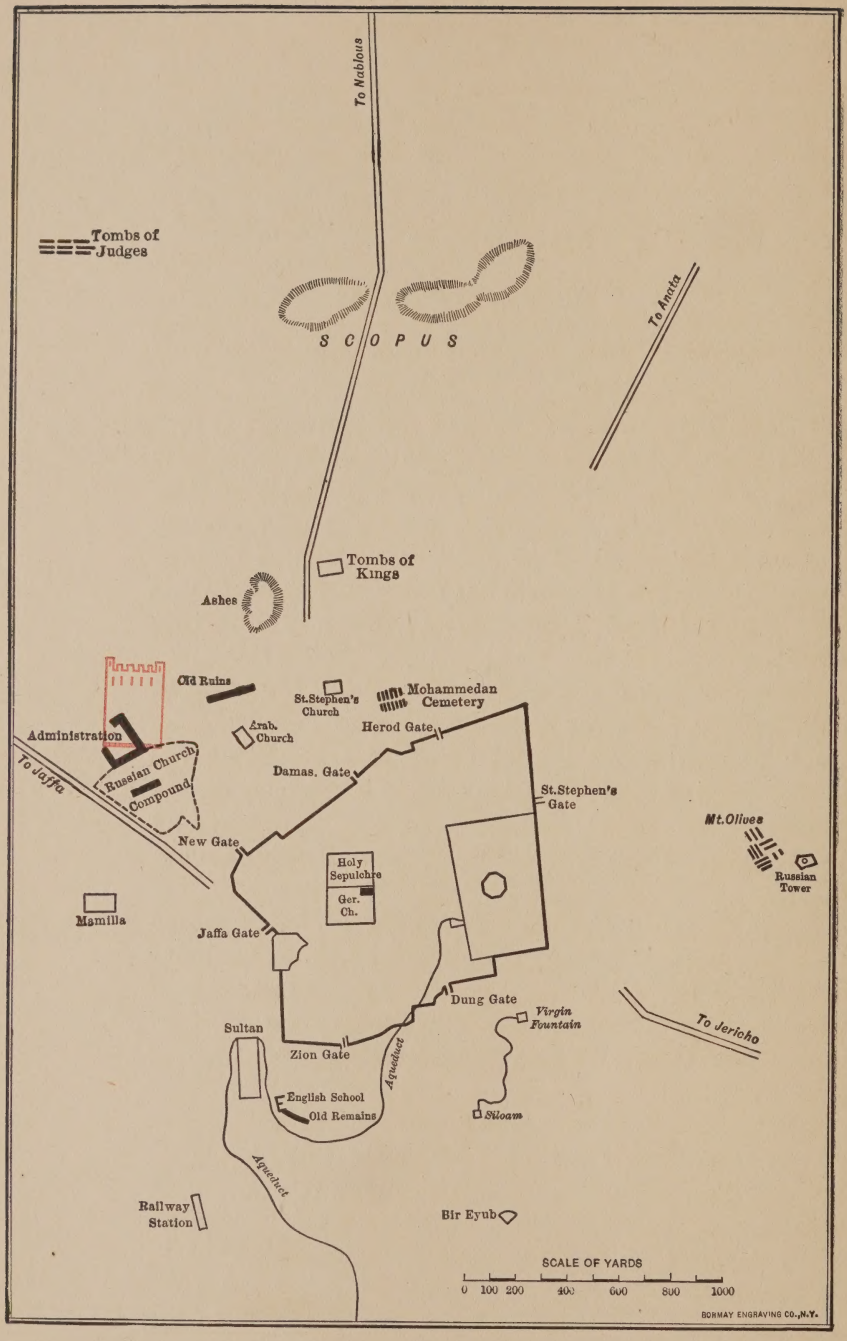
THE Tower Psephinus stood at the northwest corner of the Third Wall—that is, at the extreme northwest corner of the city. The Third Wall, commencing at Hippicus, extended in a northerly direction (not *arkton*, *αρκτον*, which might mean *straight* north, but *boreion klima*, *βορειον κλιμα*, *northerly direction*) as far as this tower, and turned thence in an easterly direction (V. iv. 2). The Tower Psephinus

It may be repeated that when Titus left his camp at the castle to make his reconnaissance of Jerusalem he went along a direct road leading to the city on the north side till near the Monuments of Helena or the Tombs of the Kings, and turned off to the right and went towards, *pros*, *προς*, the Tower Psephinus (V. ii. 2).

After his military road was completed, Titus moved from Scopus and formed two other camps, as has been mentioned, in better position for active work, one of which was about, *hoson*, *ὅσον*, two furlongs from Psephinus, where the wall turns from facing north to facing west (V. iii. 5).

The form of this tower was octagonal (V. iv. 3). We do not know that it was built for defence, and it played no part in the siege of the city either offensively or defensively. It served as a landmark, and in this respect it certainly was the most conspicuous object in all Judea.

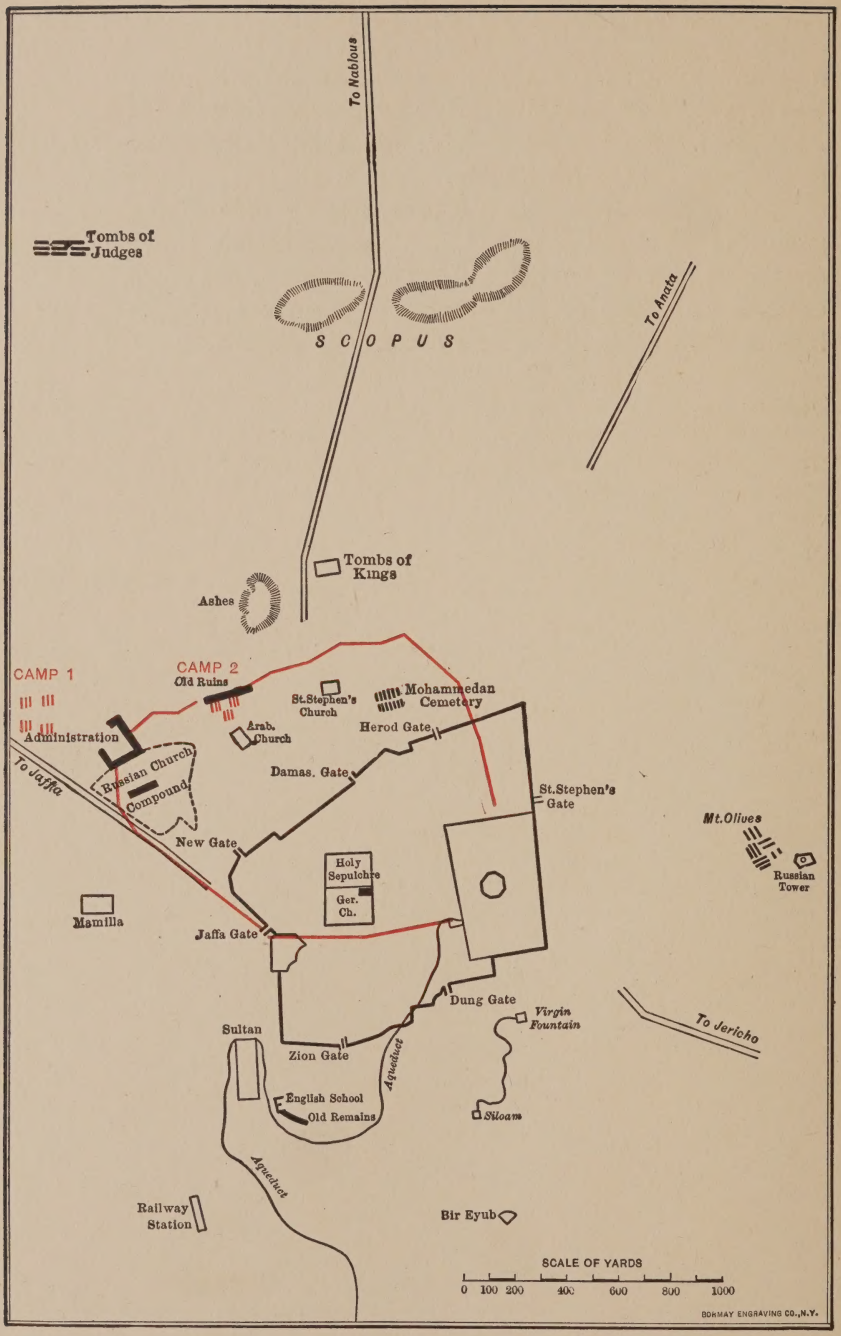
It afforded an extensive view towards Arabia in the



LOCATION OF THE TOWER PSEPHINUS

east and towards the Mediterranean in the west, and was a source of laudable pride to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. As has been said, the highest available ground was chosen for its site.

The tower at Ramleh, the present structure dating from the Crusading period, and the Russian tower on the Mount of Olives (1886-1890), are well-known examples illustrating the purpose of the Tower Psephinus at Jerusalem in the first century of our era.



THE FIRST AND SECOND CAMPS OF TITUS

RUSSIAN ADMINISTRATION BUILDING

On the highest ground northwest of Jerusalem. The site of the Tower of Psephinus.

CHAPTER VI

THE CAMPS OF TITUS

I. West of Psephinus—II. Inside Agrippa's Wall

THE camps of Titus are well defined. For the first, he chose the highest ground around Jerusalem. This had long before been chosen by the Jews for their celebrated Tower Psephinus, and this location at once attracted the attention of the Roman general. It was two furlongs from the corner of the First or Agrippa's Wall, where this bent from facing north to facing west. From the northwest corner of this wall its position was to the west, for the reason that both to the north and to the south of that point the ground is lower. Camps of Titus

This was Titus' permanent camp throughout the siege, and may be called Camp No. 1 (V. iii. 5).

After the First Wall was taken, "Titus transferred his camp to a place within the wall styled the 'Camp of the Assyrians'" (V. vii. 3). (For Camp of the Assyrians, see Chapter XII.) His entire camp was not transferred to this new site, but only his personal part of it. For,—

(1) There was no necessity for moving the entire camp.

(2) He had with him at least two legions, and the great number of men would be a serious obstacle to moving the camp in a body.

(3) High ground and a very high tower are great and special advantages in military operations, and these Titus had in Psephinus and the high ground about it. These advantages he would not be likely to abandon.

(4) After the city was captured and Titus wished to compliment and reward his soldiers, he "had a spacious tribunal erected in the centre of his former encamp-

ment," whence he delivered an address to his army (VII. i. 2). (For Tribunal, see Chapter XXVIII.) This was no other than Camp No. 1, on the high ground near Psephinus. Here was ample space for the whole army to assemble, whereas the Camp of the Assyrians, certainly the region about it, was covered with stones and the débris of a ruined city.

(5) That Camp No. 2 was for himself and not for the two legions and all the rest of the force that comprised Camp No. 1, is confirmed by the statement in V. xii. 2, that Camp No. 2 was "where his own tent was pitched."

CHAPTER VII

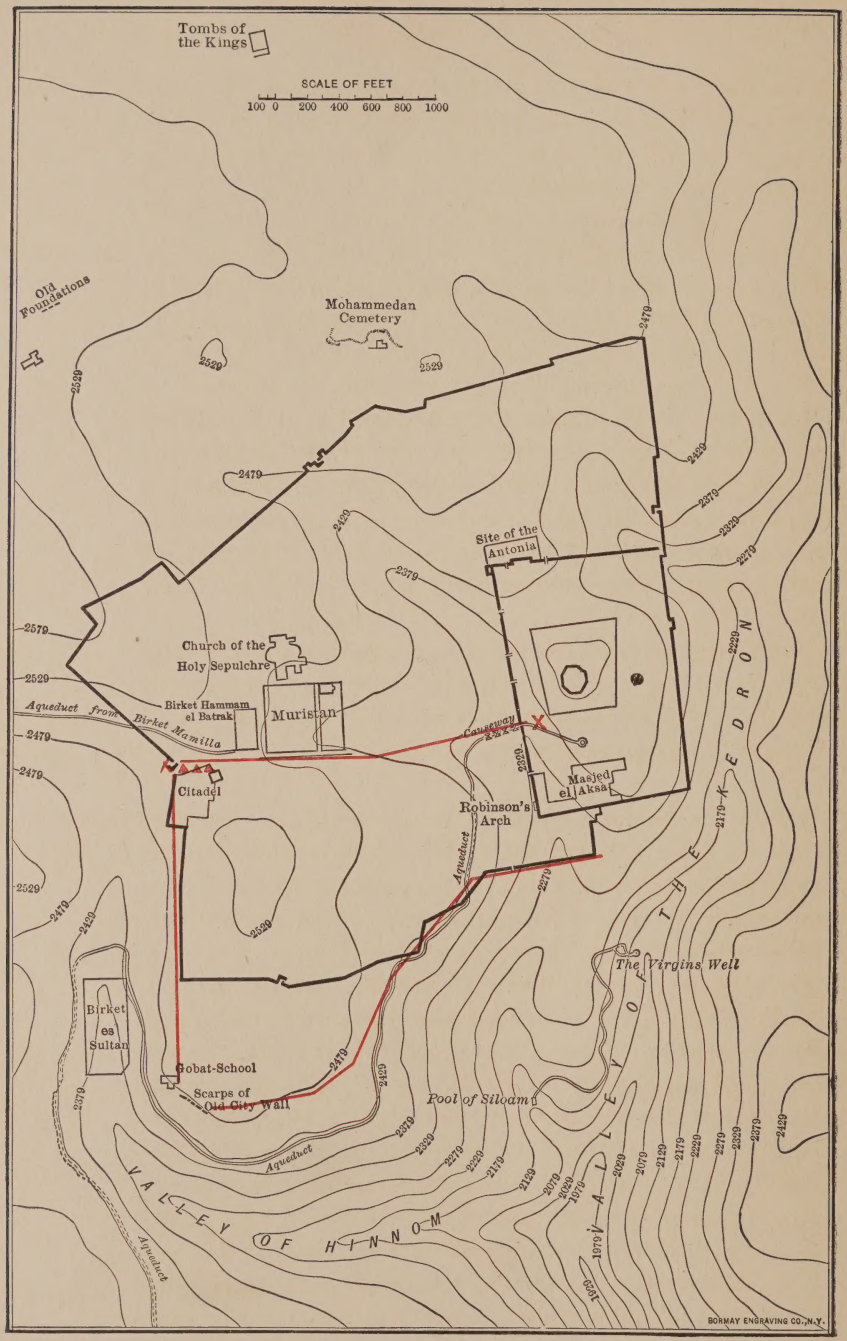
THE FIRST OR OLD WALL

Shape of Hill Controls Its Course—Relation to Aqueduct—Siloam a Wall of Its Own

"THE First Wall began on the north at the tower called Hippicus (near the present Jaffa Gate), ran east to the Xystus, formed a junction there with the Council House, and terminated at the western colonnade of the Temple. On the west side, beginning at the same tower, it stretched through Bethso, as it is styled, to the Gate of the Essenes. It then turned and advanced with a southern aspect above the Fountain of Siloam, whence it again inclined facing the east towards Solomon's Reservoir, and extending to a spot designated Ophla it joined the eastern colonnade of the Temple" (V. iv. 2). The First or Old Wall

Of the three famous towers, Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, Hippicus stood farthest to the west, nearest the present Jaffa Gate. The north wall of the Upper City began at this tower and terminated at the east end of the ancient Causeway, as indicated on the Plan between the points marked X and X. The west wall of the Upper City began at the same tower and ran towards Bishop Gobat's School on Mount Zion. Centuries later the Third or Agrippa's Wall began at the same tower and ran in a northwest direction.

This Old Wall had special advantages in its situation, being on the brow of a hill which had ravines on all sides. It was also strongly built. This is practically the language of Josephus, and the statement of a historian should be accepted as true unless there is proof that he is in error. This remark is made because there



THE FIRST OR OLD WALL

are writers who doubt or deny his assertions. For the present we need say only that the ravines still exist, the brow of the hill can still be pointed out, and portions of the wall can be traced.

Relation of aqueduct to Old Wall

The aqueduct which runs around the south side of modern Zion may have no actual relation to the Old Wall on that side of Jerusalem, still they seem to follow each other as though it were by design. The situation of the wall on the brow of the hill and the relation of the aqueduct to it can hardly be realized by one walking over this region. A better way, therefore, is to go to the south side of the Hinnom valley and look back to this slope of Zion. For a general view of the eastern part of this region the best point is the top of the present wall, a little to the east of, or directly over, the Dung Gate.

Beginning under Bishop Gobat's School, just below the Lower Pool of Gihon (Birket es Sultan), round to the region of Robinson's Arch or to the Causeway, there were 4,000 feet of aqueduct.

Course of Old Wall. Siloam a landmark

The Greek of the passage V. iv. 2 seems fairly simple, still not a little depends upon the translation of it. The mention of Siloam in it has led to some confusion. The translation we have chiefly followed is that of Traill, whose work is generally excellent.

Whiston gives the sense remarkably well, in fact exactly:—"having its bending above the fountain of Siloam, where it also bends again towards the east." Traill's rendering of the second verb, "inclined facing the east," must be changed. The word rendered "inclined" means to bend, to bend away towards something, in this case to the east to Solomon's Reservoir.

Siloam and the wall had really no connection. Siloam is used like the Monuments of King Alexander, the Tower Psephinus, and some other objects about Jerusalem, simply as a landmark. The wall was 350 or 400

yards above, over, *huper*, ὑπερ, the fountain, and otherwise than as an indication of locality they had nothing to do with each other. The wall began at Hippicus and ended at the eastern colonnade of the Temple. It went around by the south, following the brow of the hill.

At first it faced the west to a given point; after that it did not run in a straight line, but in general it had a southerly aspect until it made the *first* bend over Siloam; from that turning it practically faced the east for a short distance as far as the *second* bend; its course thence was east to its end. This is the meaning of the Greek.

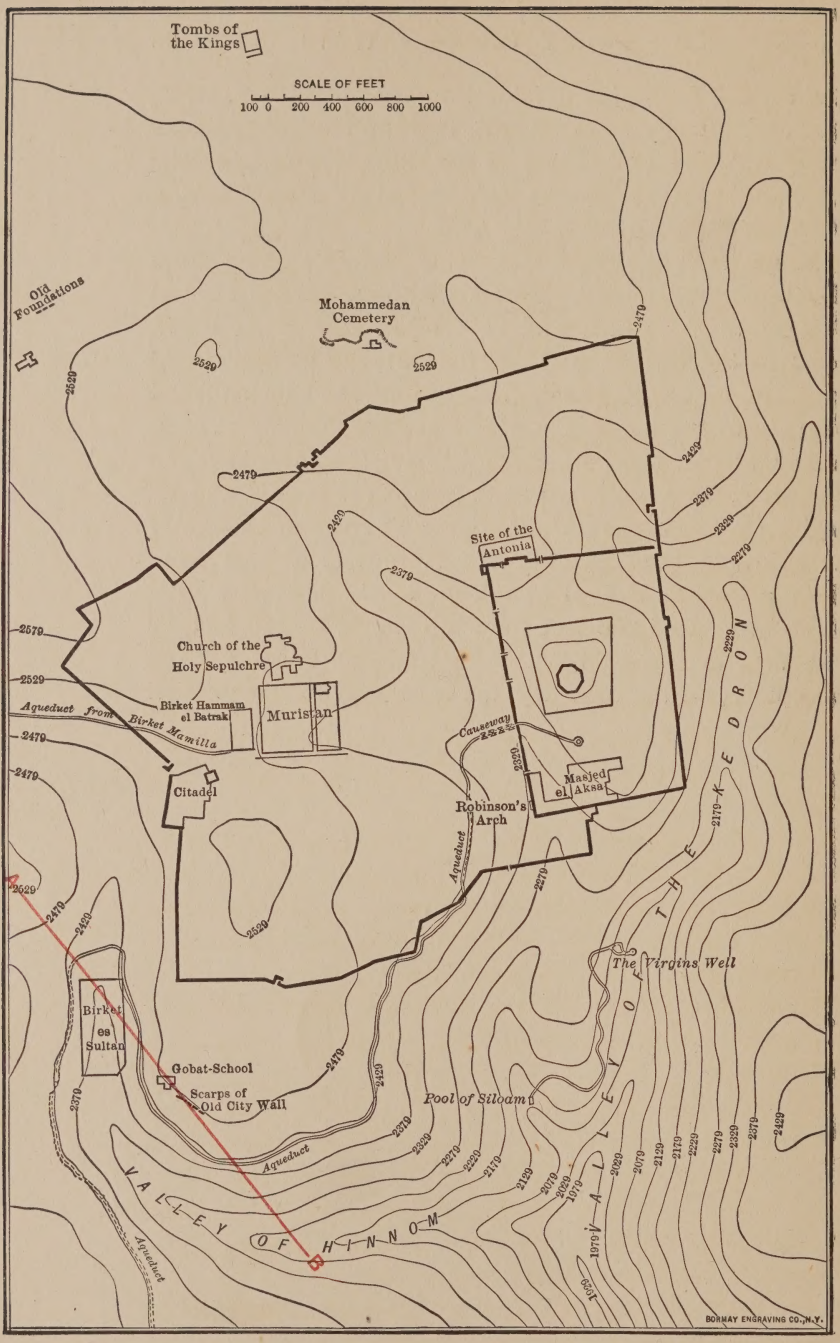
In another passage where this wall is mentioned as being in the control of Simon, V. vi. 1, it is described as "bending eastward from Siloam," *apo*, απο. This is the second bending, whence "it descended to the Palace of Monobazus." A brief but excellent description of the wall in this part, the two passages confirming each other.

Wall of Pool of Siloam

All the historical evidence we have shows that the Pool of Siloam had a wall of its own. No reason or explanation is given, but it is stated as a fact. This is mentioned as early as Nehemiah, who speaks of "the wall of Siloah where was the King's Garden" (iii. 15). In describing the Old or First Wall in its course south of the city, Siloam is used as a landmark. The wall ran from Hippicus round by the south to the Palace of Monobazus, which was situated between Ophel and the valley near the present Dung Gate; in one place it is said that "it bent over, *huper*, ὑπερ, Siloam," and in another that "it bent eastward from, *apo*, απο, Siloam." "Apo" means from the vicinity of. There were two bendings of the wall above Siloam, 350 or 400 yards distant from the fountain. In another place Josephus, in addressing the Jews on the matter of surrender to the Romans, referring to the abundance of water at one time and to the scarcity of it at another, says, "Siloam

and all the fountains outside the city failed" (V. iv. 2; vi. 1; ix. 4). From these data two interesting facts are made certain: (1) that this fountain was outside the city, and (2) that it was surrounded by a wall having no connection with any city wall.

Some writers represent a wall running down from Bishop Gobat's School towards Siloam, thence around Siloam to the south and east of it and going north towards the Temple area. If the wall ran as this would indicate, and after passing Siloam on the south turned sharply to the north, the words of Josephus "bent eastwards above, over, or from Siloam," would have no meaning; for a wall that runs from west to east and, at a given point, turns a right angle and runs north cannot be said "to bend eastward." Moreover, a wall from Bishop Gobat's School to Siloam would descend a very steep hill. In 1,200 feet the drop would be 400 feet, or one foot in three. Such a wall has no support from Josephus; on the contrary, his testimony contradicts it.



LINE OF SECTION THROUGH BETHSO

CHAPTER VIII

BETHSO

Hebrew Bethzur—Rock Fortress—Location

Bethso, the Rock Fortress

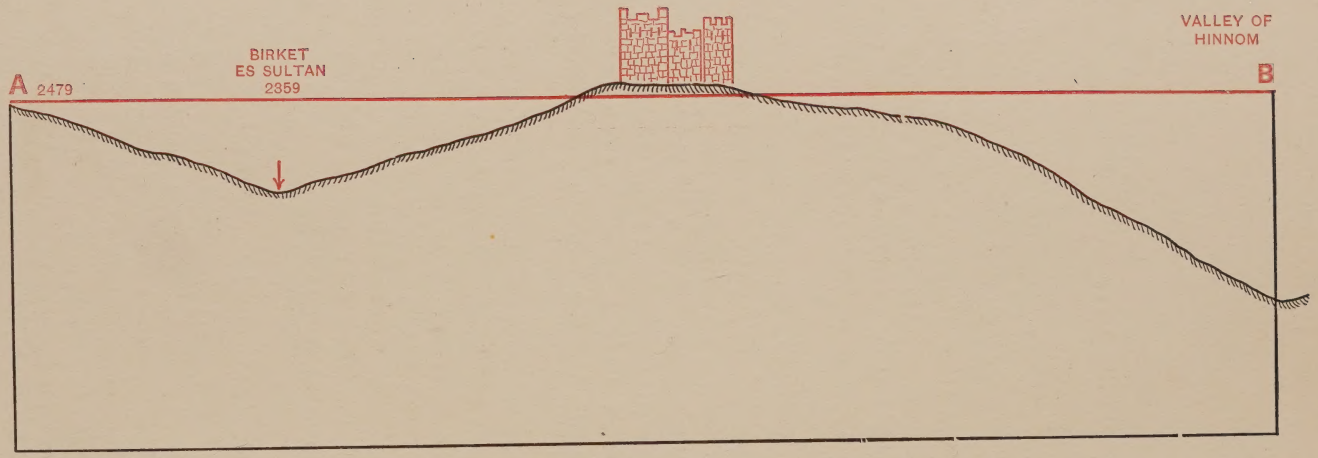
THE First or Old Wall on the west of the city, after starting southward from Hippicus, went through Bethso, Josephus adding a very common formula, "so called" (V. iv. 2). This means that the place was well known to the Jews.

Two hundred years (possibly something less) before him the Books of the Maccabees mention several times a place, Bathsura or Bethsura, which played an important part in the Maccabean wars. A few of these references are unmistakably to Jerusalem. For example, it is said, in 1 Mac. vi. 26, "The Sanctuary (Temple) and Bethsura were fortified, and the Tower (Acra) was besieged."

Deserters from the Jews to Antiochus reported to him that Judas Maccabeus had done and was doing this, meaning that there was incipient or actual rebellion against his authority. But the statement becomes a confused jumble unless these three points belong to Jerusalem,—the Temple, the Acra, and the Fortress on the southwest hill, modern Zion, which Josephus calls "Bethso."

Again, it is said—1 Mac. vi. 48-51—that Antiochus (the younger) attacked Jerusalem; Bethsura was taken and a garrison placed in it; but the Temple resisted a long time. It is clear, then, that these places belonged to the city. Probably Bethsura, in one or more other passages, should be referred to Jerusalem.

The word Bethso is the Hebrew "Bethzur," and means "House of the Rock," or "Rock Fortress." The point is



BETHSO, NEAR THE SITE OF BISHOP GOBAT'S SCHOOL

A B is a section nearly northwest and southeast. From this point the distances and changes in level are as follows:—northwest, Birket es Sultan, 500 feet, drop 120 feet; west, 350 feet, drop 150 feet; south, 700 feet, drop 200 feet; and to the southeast the drop is 300 feet. It is contrary to all military rules that this strategic point should not have been fortified. The situation represented here in outline and the figures is fairly well shown to the eye in the accompanying photographic illustration.

HILL OCCUPIED BY BISHOP GOBAT'S SCHOOL AND THE ENGLISH CEMETERY

On the extreme left, to the north of the School, the city wall appears. Down the valley to the east is a bit of Silwan. Between the carriage road in the foreground and the slope opposite is the deep valley of Hinnom, which cannot be seen. The building of Uzziah, as described in Chapter XXIX., must be consulted in connection with this chapter and its illustrations.

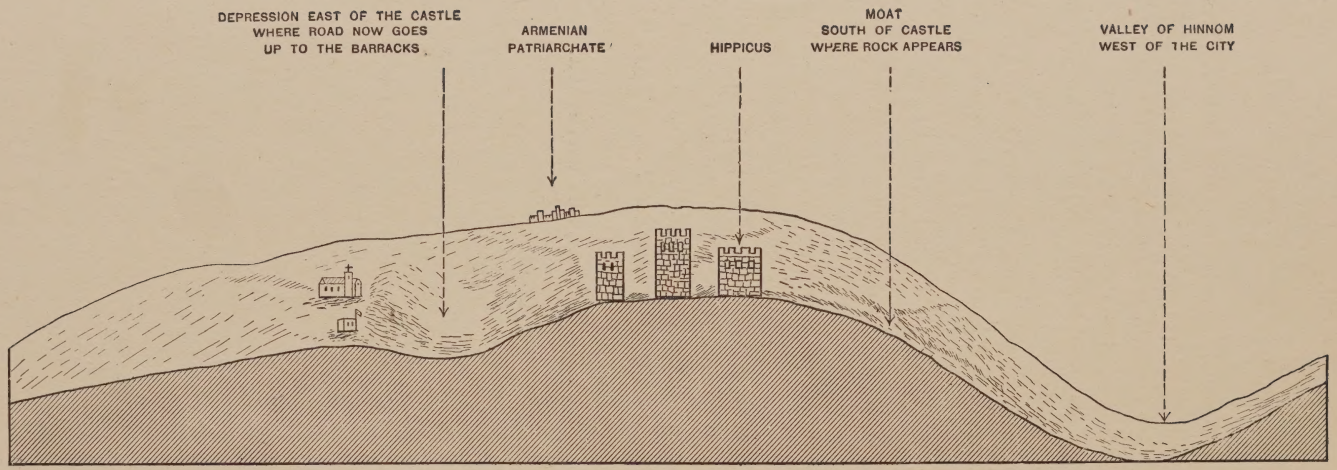
at Bishop Gobat's School, a most admirable situation for such a purpose.

If we take away the present buildings and remove the débris where the buildings stand, the rock itself would look formidable. If we erect a fortress on the top of those rocks, the hill and its castle would look very formidable and could appropriately be described as a "Rock Fortress."

This would command the region to the south, for there is no doubt that across the Plain of Rephaim the enemy sometimes came, as Absalom came when he drove his father David from Jerusalem.

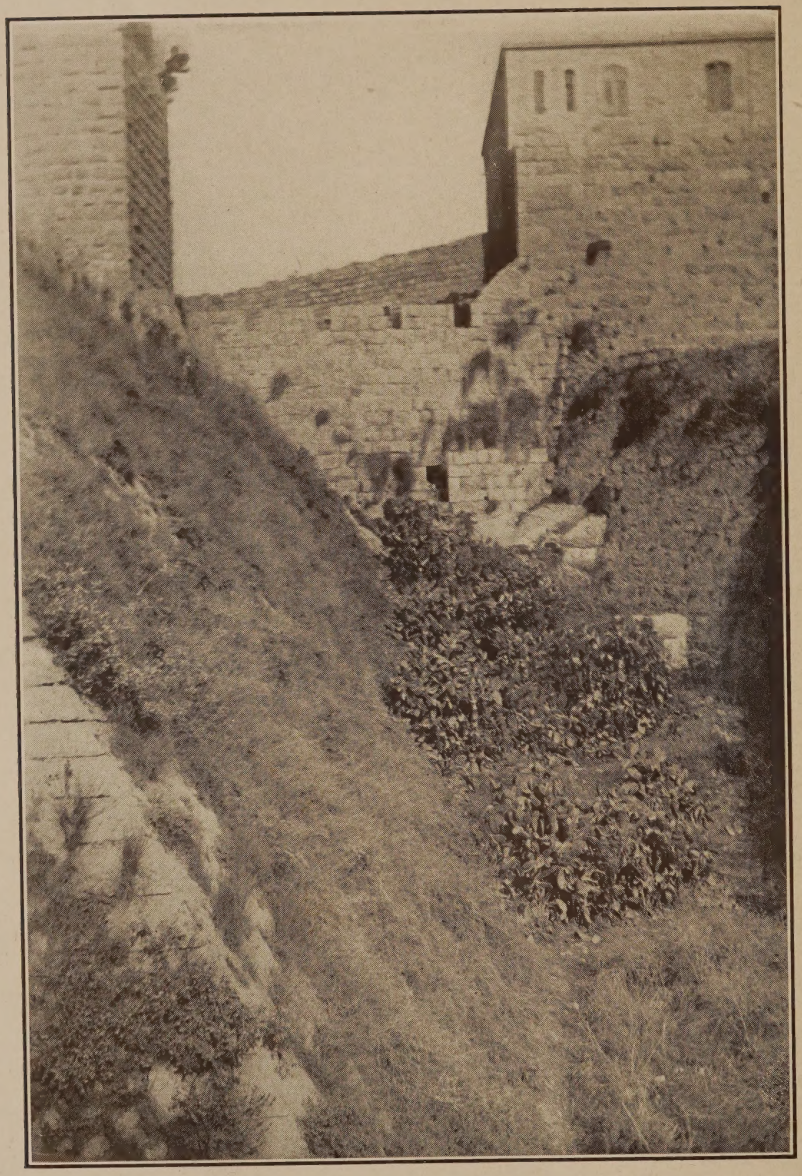
The View here given is looking north from a point nearly southwest.

In reality it seems almost unnecessary to discuss the site of Bethsura. In 2 Mac. xi. 5 the distance of Bethsura from Jerusalem is given as 5 furlongs or 3,030 feet; and between the Citadel of Jerusalem at the Holy Sepulchre and the ancient castle at Bishop Gobat's School the distance is exactly 3,000 feet. We have in 1 Mac. vi. 26, as already quoted, the three main features of the city, namely, the Temple, Acra, and Bethsura.



THE THREE TOWERS REBUILT BY HEROD

Section looking south, showing the rocky bluff on which Herod's three towers stood, the depression to the east, and the point where the native rock appears in the moat.



IN THE MOAT SOUTH OF THE CASTLE OF DAVID

The native rock appears, illustrating Josephus' statement that Herod's three towers at this point were situated on a rocky bluff.

CHAPTER IX

THE TOWERS HIPPICUS, PHASAELUS, MARIAMNE

Rebuilt by Herod the Great—Needed to Defend Jerusalem on North and West

Herod's three towers

THE three towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, which Herod the Great had largely rebuilt and named for the three persons whose memory was dearest to him, his friend, his brother, and his wife, are described by Josephus at unusual length (V. iv. 3, 4), as though they were objects of national pride.

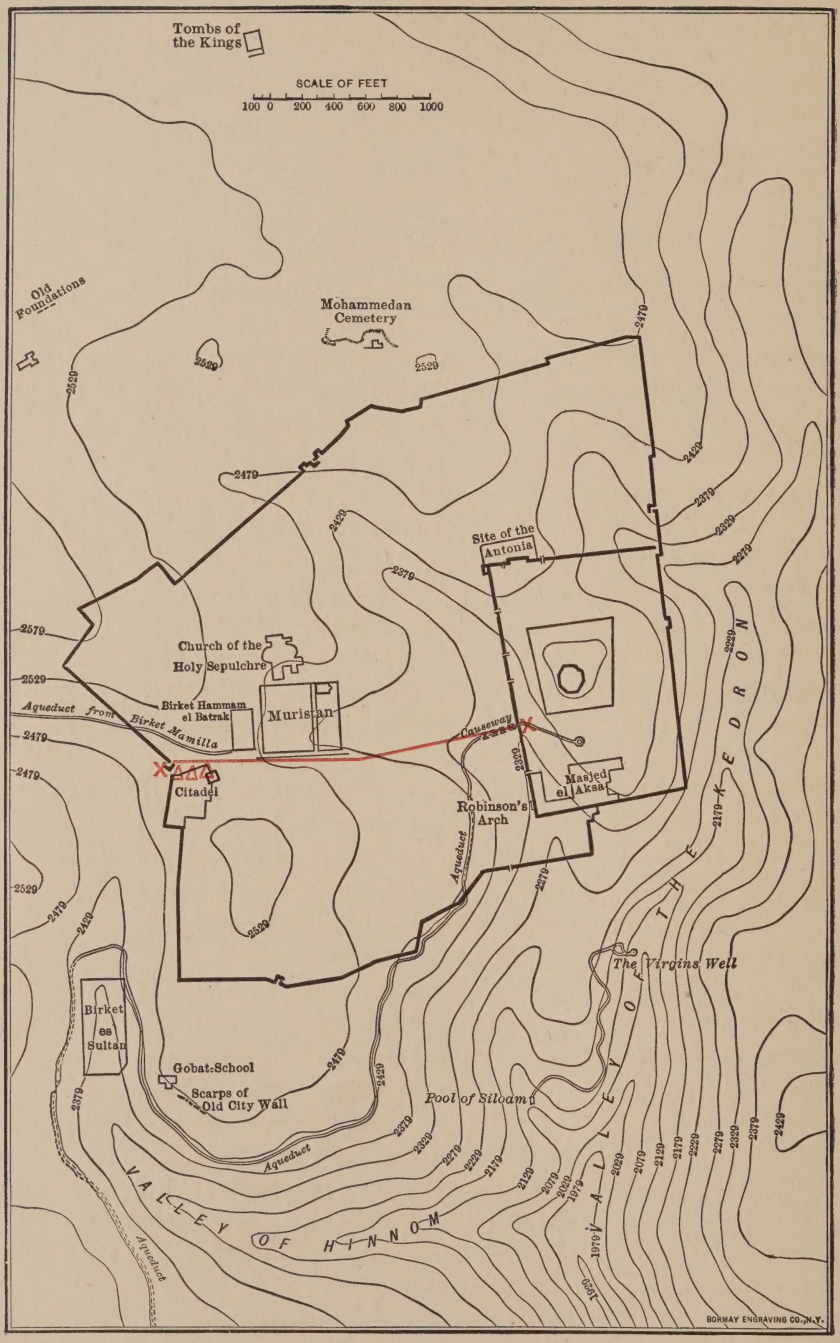
Their situation, their strength, the magnitude of the stones of which they were built, their cloisters, and apartments that were royally furnished, all come in for praise. Titus is reported to have been greatly impressed by their size and strength, and to have declared that no engines could have battered them down (VI. ix. 1).

These towers were near one another; they all belonged to the Old or First Wall, and Hippicus stood farthest to the west. Hippicus is mentioned in connection with Psephinus, as though these two objects especially would strike the eye of the beholder approaching the city from a westerly direction.

"The ancient wall in which they were built was itself on a high hill. This rose to a sort of crest on which the towers stood" (V. iv. 4). Their magnitude was thus enhanced in appearance by their position. (See Section Plan.)

On the south side of the present Castle where the moat ends by turning eastward towards the city, the natural rock appears. One standing at the angle of this trench, facing the city, sees the rock high up on the right-hand side under the wall. (See Illustration.)

On the north side of the Castle is the trench or moat,



OLD WALL NORTH OF ZION AND THE TOWERS HIPPICUS, PHASAELUS, AND MARIAMNE

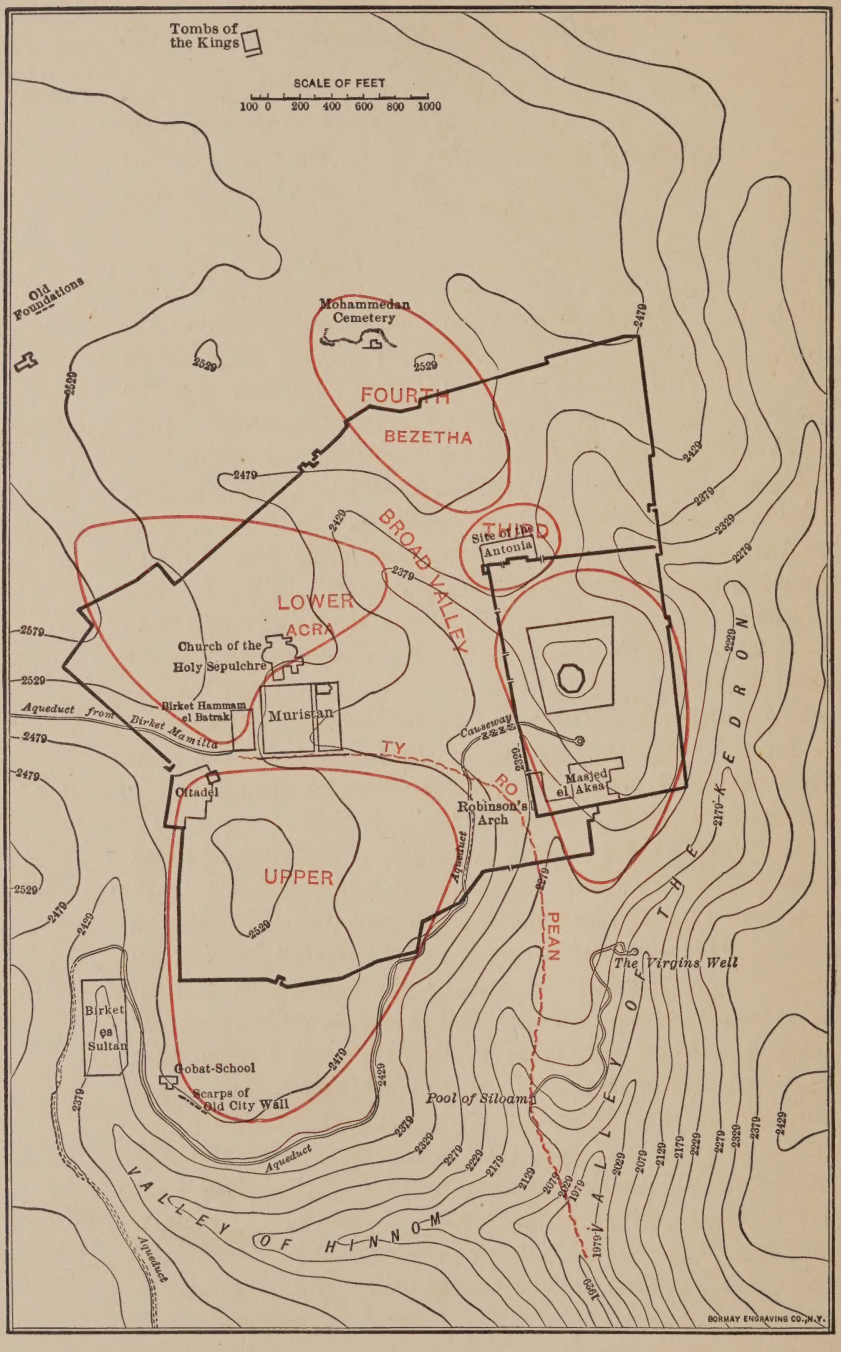
partly filled in 1898 for the new entrance to the city, the bottom of which may have been lower than it is now. To the northeast and east, where the road goes up to the Barracks, we know that the débris is 20 and in some places 40 feet deep.

It cannot be denied, therefore, that the rambling structure which is called the Castle of David stands on a rocky bluff or crest of a hill, which stood out prominently and far more conspicuously than it appears at present, although not isolated from the land to the south of it. Every known fact about the ground here confirms Josephus' language.

From the top of the Castle to the bottom of the trench at the southwest corner, the height is 130 or more feet, and its appearance is formidable when one thinks of the possibility of taking the Castle by hand.

See Chapter XXIX. for Plan, showing the three towers as they would appear to one approaching Jerusalem from the west,—at the northwest corner (later Psephinus), at the Jaffa Gate, and at Bishop Gobat's School.

It may be added that under the property of the London Society for Propagating Christianity Amongst the Jews, about 50 feet south of the entrance to the Castle and 30 feet east of the moat, there is a cistern 42 feet deep. This is made in what was in ancient times a valley. Also under the American Consulate, which stands on the corner of David street and the street leading up to the Barracks, on its south side, there is a cistern which is 35 feet deep. Its distance east of the moat is 60 feet. When a portion of this corner building was repaired a few years since the workmen dug down through débris about 30 feet without finding rock. These facts help to confirm the theory that on the east of the Castle there was originally a valley, and that David street is over a valley which was the Tyropean of Josephus. From looking at the surface of the ground one cannot realize the contour of this region as it was in ancient times.



THE HILLS OF JERUSALEM. THE TYROPEAN

CHAPTER X

THE HILLS OF JERUSALEM

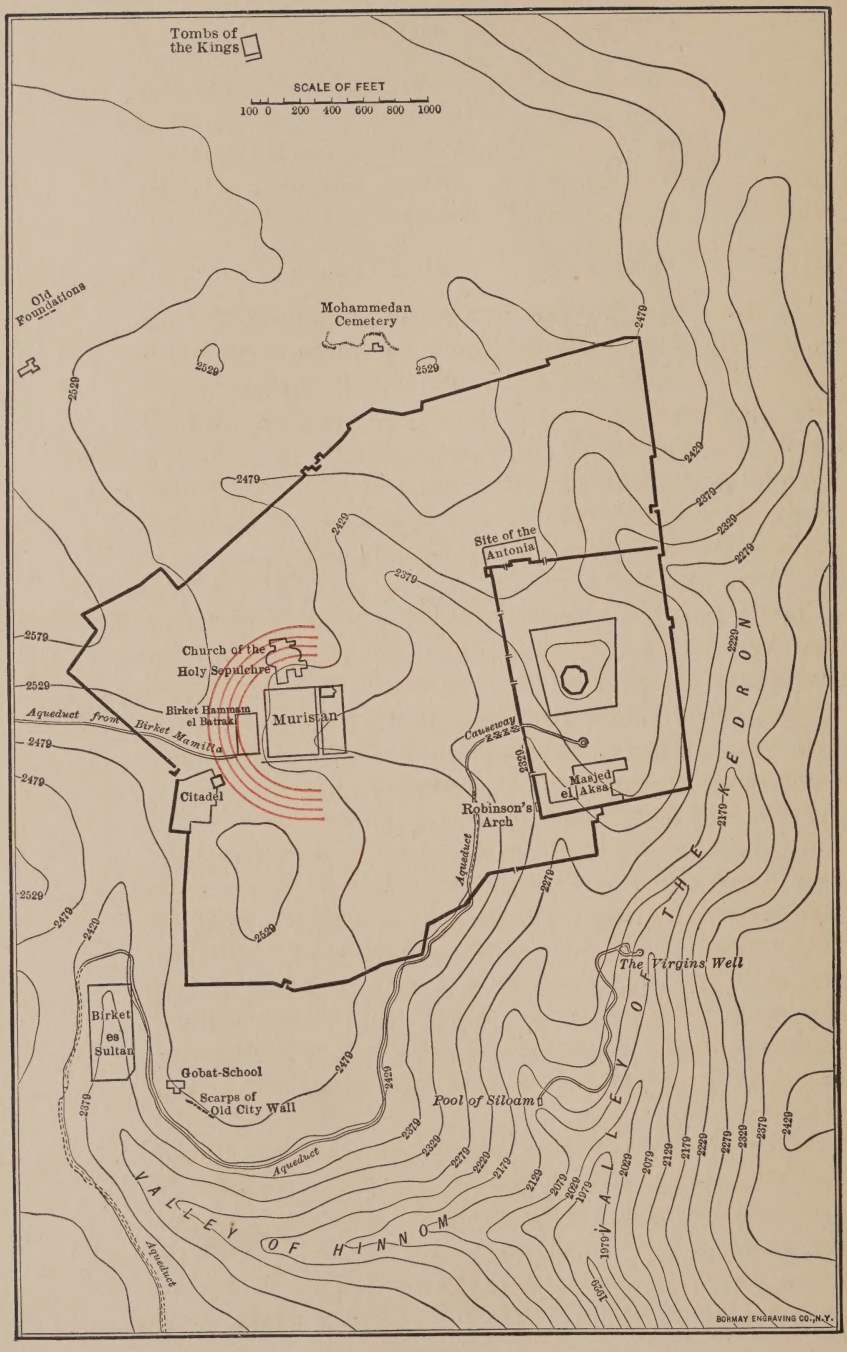
Really Five, although Four Usually Mentioned—Compelled the Divisions of the City—Tyropean, and Dung Gate, Which Should Be Changed to "Milk Gate"

Hills of Jerusalem

In popular speech four hills are reckoned to Jerusalem,—Zion, Moriah, Acra, and Bezetha. But for the city proper, that is, without counting the Temple ridge, Josephus mentions two—namely, that on which the Upper City stood, known at that time also as the Upper Market-place, identical with modern Zion, and to the north of this a half-moon shaped hill concave when looked at from the east, on which was built the Lower City or Acra.

Throughout his history these distinctions are always maintained, and the Levels that have been ascertained in recent years justify the statements as to the existence and shape of these two hills (V. iv. 1).

Josephus (*Antiq.*, XV. xi. 5) affirms that this western part of the city when looked at from the Temple area appeared "like a theatre." If one stood on the Temple area and looked west towards the Jaffa Gate he would look over and across the Lower Market, which was a basin now filled and known as the Muristan. On the south would rise the slope of modern Zion; to the west the region about the Jaffa Gate; and to the north the Acra ridge. To all the region north of the Zion slope the name Acra was applied. When this circle of hills or high land was covered with houses the appearance of the whole would be "theatre-shaped" precisely as Josephus describes it. The ascertained Levels show this, but it is not specially apparent to the eye. It can be better appreciated by a glance at the Ground Plan of this part



HALF-MOON SHAPED HILL ON WHICH ACRA STOOD

The western part of the city, with Acra on the north, the slope of Zion on the south, and the upper section of the Tyropean between, Josephus describes as appearing "like a theatre," when looked at from the Temple area. His description is general and the diagram is designed to illustrate what is meant. The hill on which Acra stood was half-moon shaped, the open part being toward the temple.

of the city as given in Chapter XXXVIII. The accompanying diagram will serve to illustrate the case more fully. It is not likely that Josephus intended to say that the resemblance was perfect, but only general, which is certainly true. Bezetha, the "fourth hill" of Josephus, is described elsewhere. (See Chapter XIX.)

Opposite to Acra was a third hill separated from it by a broad valley. The addition of a single word, broad, *platus, πλατυς,* is significant and not to be overlooked. We have here, as frequently elsewhere, the indefinite Greek word *antikru, αντικρυ, opposite,* but as the ground is familiar there can be no doubt that the hill meant is the one where the Tower of Antonia stood, the present Barracks north of the Temple area.

The Tyropean

The two hills, bearing respectively the Upper City and Lower City, were separated by a valley called the Tyropean. Doubt has been expressed by some writers where this valley should run; but to locate it anywhere else than between the Upper and Lower Cities is to contradict the statement of Josephus.

How this name came to be applied to this valley is not known. The word does not mean "Cheese-mongers," as it is sometimes rendered in translations of Josephus, but "Cheese-makers." There was a distinct word for cheese-market, and another for cheese-selling or seller. The word has no connection with milk, or with the word for milk, *gala, γαλα.* It means only cheese-makers. Cheese cannot be made without milk from cows or goats; but there is here no hint of milk, market, or anything of the kind.

It is supposed that there existed on the south of Zion a Dung Gate, and that here on the north of Zion the business of making cheese went on. Zion was, however, the place of fine residences; at least three royal or priestly palaces stood there. It was occupied by wealthy citizens; how could this class have allowed a Dung Gate

on one side of them and a lot of cheese factories on the other side?

But may we not suppose that the cheese-makers as a class, a guild, lived there and did their work elsewhere? This is possible. There must have been a large number of them to have given a name to an important valley in the heart of the city, but there is no trace of the name in any earlier record than Josephus.

The valley of the cheese-makers extended to Siloam. The Tyropean is often spoken of in modern times as running through the city from north to south, the valley coming from the vicinity of the Damascus Gate being meant; but it is a mistake. That valley is described as a "broad valley," and when the Acra was cut down by the Maccabees it was partly filled; but it was not the Tyropean that was filled (V. iv. 1).

In Hebron a section of the city is set apart for the Glass Blowers, another for the Water-Skin Makers, and another for the Cotton Workers, each section being known by that name.

In Jerusalem there is a street or section,—sometimes it is one and sometimes it is the other, *Haret,* or *Suk,*— of Goldsmiths, of Spice Dealers, of Dyers, of Mat Sellers, and of Oil. These names refer to the places where these various trades or occupations are carried on. They may illustrate the name "Valley of Cheese Makers," or they may not.

Dung Gate changed to Milk Gate

Investigations which we have recently made as to the source of the milk supply of Jerusalem have brought to light some facts of no little interest. It appears that for several generations the chief supply has come from Silwan, the Mount of Olives, and one or two other small villages to the southeast. With these are to be reckoned the small half-Bedouin tribes occupying the large district southeast of the city, around Mar Saba, extending to Bethlehem in one direction and to the Jericho carriage road in another. These people are known as

Wadiyeh, "The Valley People." In a hot climate like that of Palestine it is impossible to transport milk for any considerable distance, and for this reason the village on the Mount of Olives and Silwan represent the limit beyond which milk cannot with safety be brought.

As one goes west, northwest, or north of Jerusalem he at once finds arable land, but this is not the case when one goes to the east or southeast. These facts control largely the kind of produce the inhabitants are able to send to market. In the region contemplated the amount of tillable land is very limited, hence the chief attention of these Valley People is devoted to pasturing flocks. They have many cattle, sheep, and goats, but not many camels. Silwan furnishes milk; but the Valley People raise butter, *zibdeh;* cheese, *jibn;* and thickened milk, *lebn.* No article of diet is in more general use than lebn; for the rich and poor alike, city people and peasants, for all classes this has been an indispensable dish from the earliest times.

Moreover, there has not always been the demand for milk that there is now. Two or three generations ago the demand for it was not great, but it has been steadily increasing for the last sixty years, owing to the influx of Europeans.

The Valley People, not being able to get their milk to market readily even if there were a demand for it, produce lebn in great quantities and also some butter and cheese. The Valley People, and the same is true of the Silwanites, have access to the Jordan valley and find water and pasture, and in this there is a notable advantage.

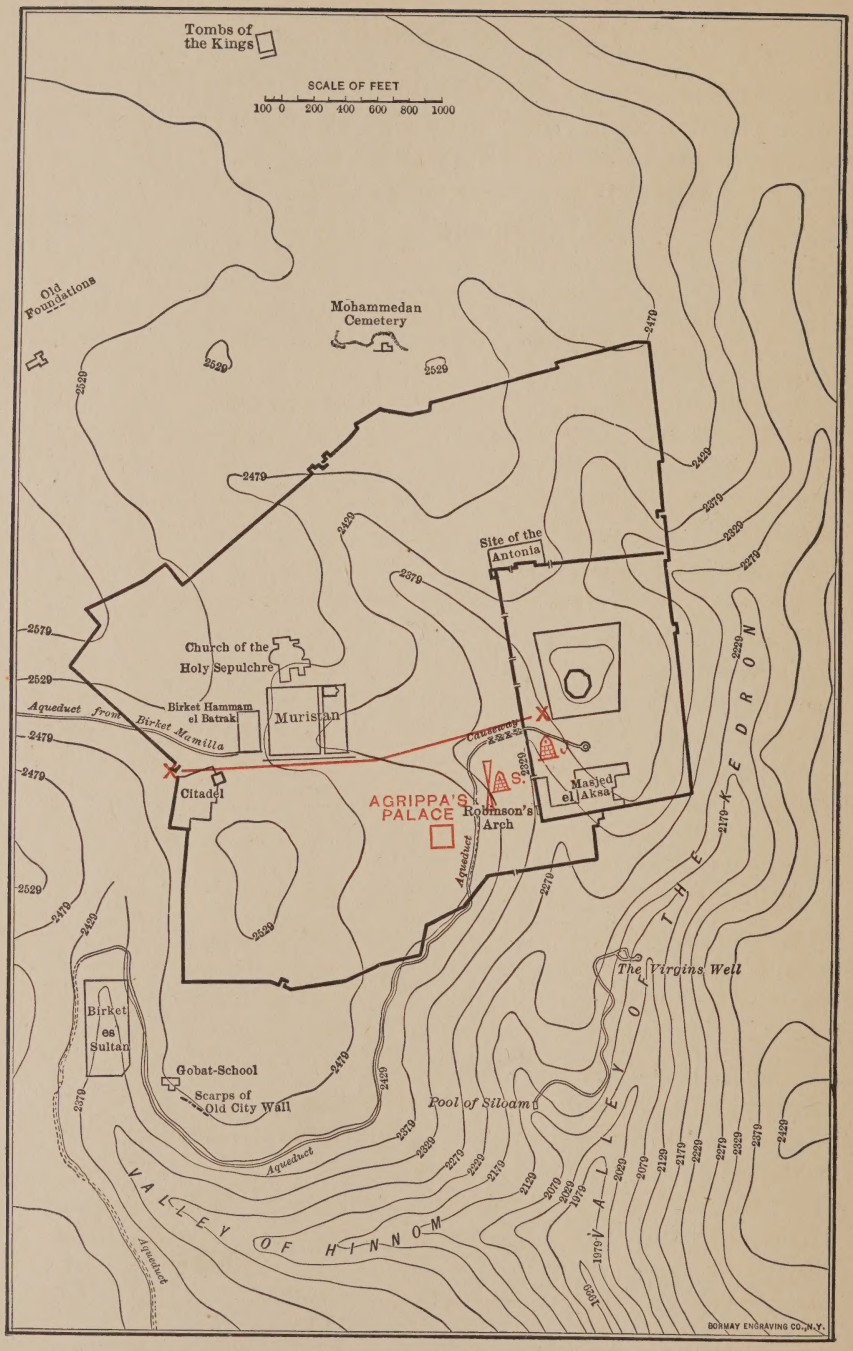
The facts noted of Silwan and the region to the southeast of Jerusalem refer to a time as long ago as people can remember what was told them by their grandfathers. This testimony is confirmed by tradition. The conditions apply to the present day as well as to ancient times, although it is true that within recent years milk

has begun to be supplied from a few other villages to the west of the city, for example Lifta. But this was not true formerly.

As to Silwan and the two or three other villages in that direction, and the Valley People, it is the universal testimony that those who bring the milk, butter, cheese, and lebn, come through what is now called the Dung Gate, unless there is some special reason why they are obliged to come by way of St. Stephen's Gate. If this has been true as far back as the memory of man and tradition go, may it not have been true from the earliest period, since the physical conditions of the country have remained essentially the same?

It is remarkable that these traditions based on existing physical conditions should be supported by an examination of the Hebrew word *ashpoth* in the phrase which is translated Dung Gate, שַׁעַר הָאַשְׁפֹּת, *shaar ha-ashpoth.* This word leaves room for us to doubt if it has been correctly rendered. We notice: (1) that it is not rendered by "dung" in any other Semitic language. (2) The means for studying the significance of this word by comparison of the different passages where it is used in the Bible are very limited, since outside of Nehemiah it occurs but three times, and the four times where it occurs in Nehemiah really count as one. (3) In 2 Sam. xvii. 29, are two Hebrew words which are rendered "cheese of kine." The root of the word translated "cheese," שְׁפָה, *shaphah,* means *to be thick,* or *compact, something thickened,* hence cheese. There is in the Assyrian a corresponding word with similar meaning. With the Hebrew, the Targum and the Syriac coincide in rendering this word by "cheese," something that has been thickened, which applies also to lebn. (4) Two other roots have been suggested, and, if thence derived, the word would mean "conjurer" in the one case and "ashes" in the other; in either case the word would do violence to the conditions which have been explained.

It is far simpler and far more natural to derive the word from *shaphah* as has been done, and allow it to mean cheese or thickened milk, thus illustrating the traffic for which this gate was renowned in ancient times and justifying a change in the name.



AGRIPPA'S PALACE, THE XYSTUS, THE TOWERS OF JOHN AND SIMON

CHAPTER XI

THE XYSTUS

A Landmark—Location—Relation to Historical Events

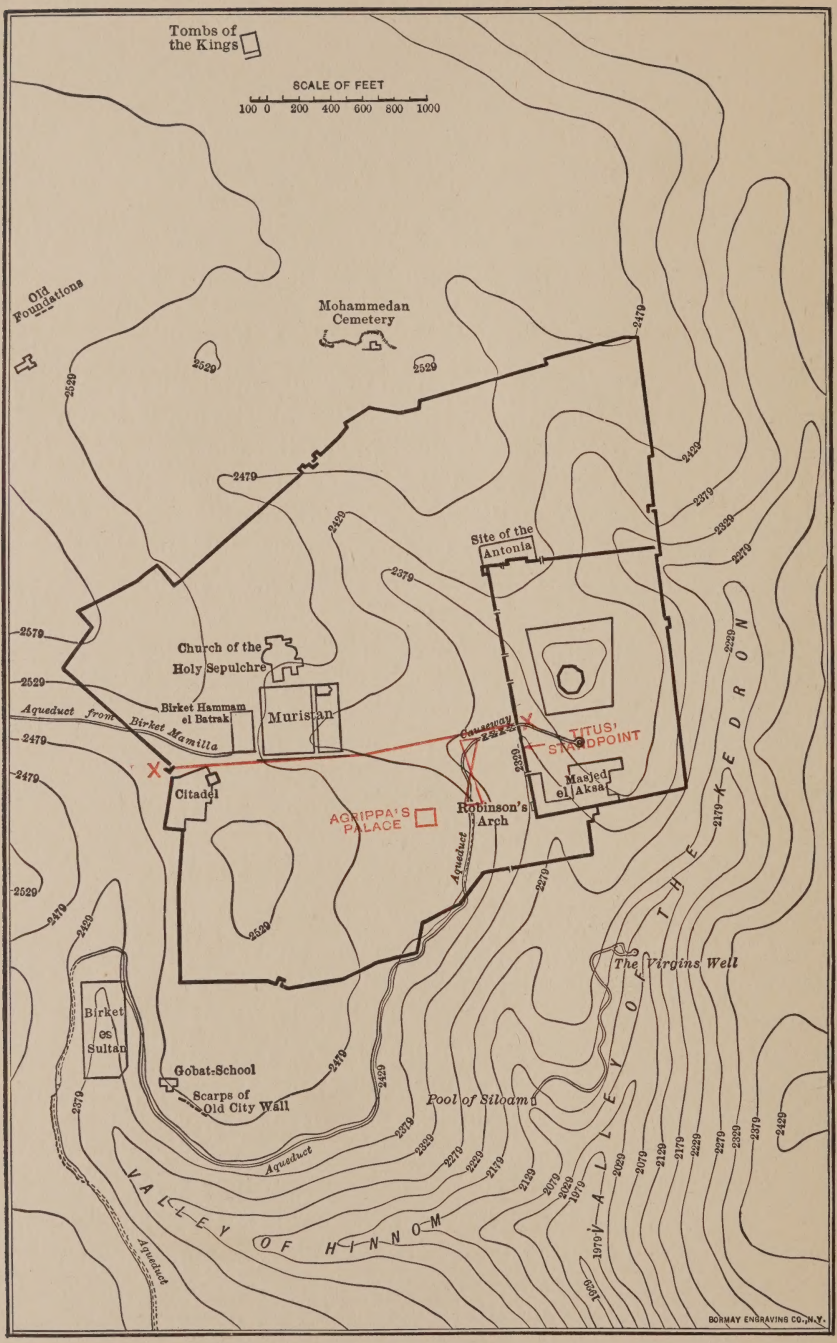
The Xystus, Ξυστος. For athletic games

IT is invariably in some interesting connection that the Xystus is mentioned, and it would be gratifying if we knew its precise relation to the Upper City, the Temple, the Causeway bridge, and the bridge of which the arch called Robinson's still remains. Its general location has long been known. Once the name "Hippodrome" is used in place of Xystus, for what reason we do not know (II. iii. 1).

It is first mentioned in connection with the eastern terminus of the Old Wall north of the Upper City, as follows: "The wall began on the north at the Tower Hippicus and extending to what is termed the Xystus, it formed a junction with the Council House and terminated at the western colonnade of the Temple" (V. iv. 2).

Again, in the time of Florus, when affairs had become desperate, Agrippa tried to dissuade the Jews from open revolt against Rome. "Accordingly he convened the people in the Xystus, and having placed Bernice his sister in a conspicuous situation on the house of the Asmonean family, which was above the Xystus, on the opposite (i.e. the east) side of the Upper City (a bridge connected the Temple with the Xystus), he made to them a long address" (II. xvi. 3).

In the struggles between John and Simon, it is said that John, who held the Temple, in order that he might the better defend himself, "erected four large towers on the Temple area, one at the northeast corner, a second above the Xystus, the third at another corner opposite



AGRIPPA'S PALACE, THE XYSTUS, POINT WHENCE TITUS ADDRESSED THE JEWS

the Lower City, and the last was constructed over the top of the Pastophoria" (IV. ix. 12).

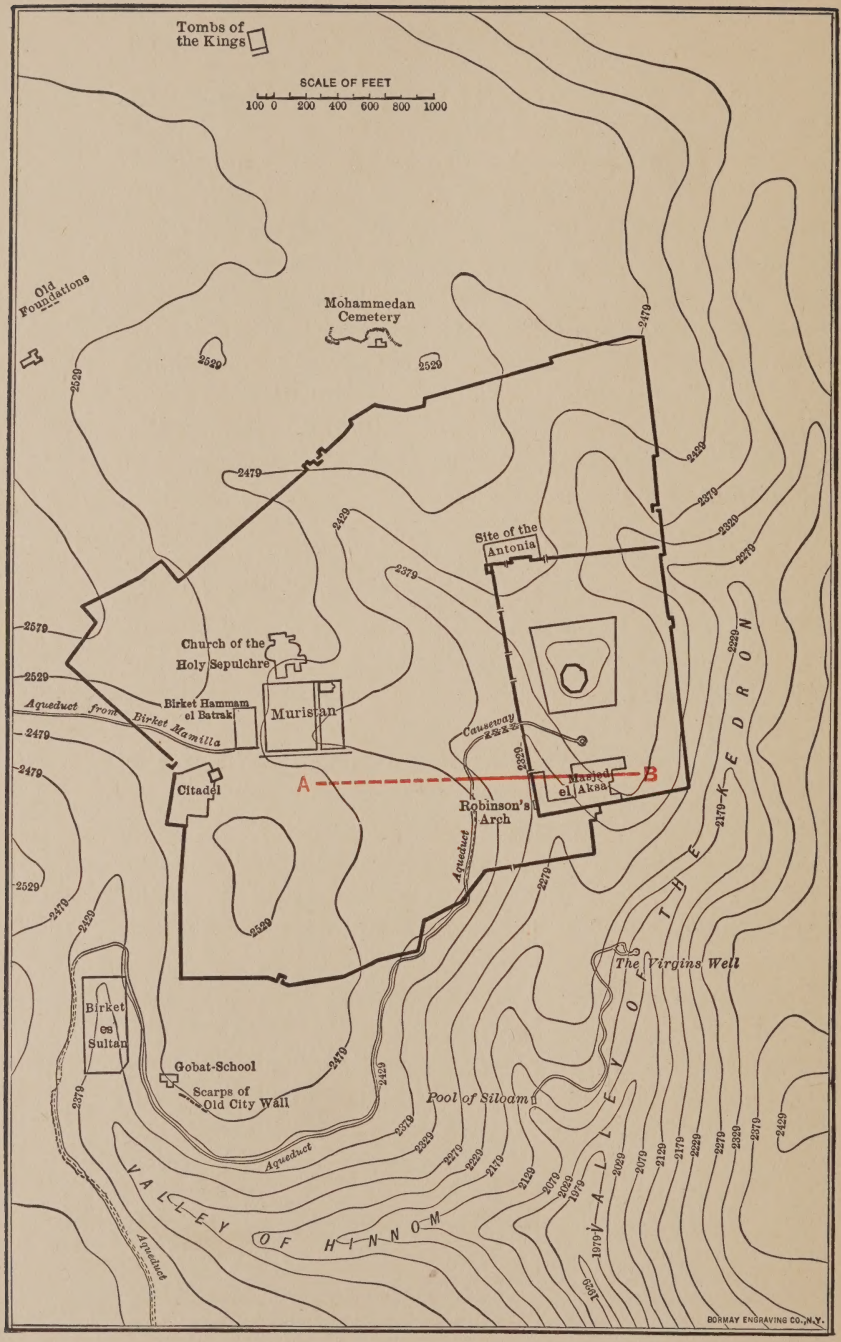
Again, after the Temple was taken, Titus addressed the Jews, endeavoring to persuade them to surrender and thus prevent further bloodshed. "Titus took his stand on the western side of the outer court of the Temple (the Temple area); there (where he stood) was a gate (or there were gates) over the Xystus and a bridge (the Bridge and the Xystus) connecting the Upper City with the Temple" (VI. vi. 2). Here we have Gate, Bridge, Xystus, and Upper City,—simply reversing the order in the account of Agrippa's address, which was,—Asmonean Palace or Upper City, Xystus, Bridge, Temple.

The last mention is when the Upper City was attacked. Titus "placed a force in the region of the Xystus, the bridge, and the tower which Simon during his contest with John had built as a fortress for himself" (VI. viii. 1).

Being in the valley and far below the level of both the Upper City and the Temple, it may not properly be reckoned as a part of either; but the hints we have seem to indicate that it joined the Upper City and not the Temple, and that the means of reaching it from the Temple was by the bridge of which the arch remains.

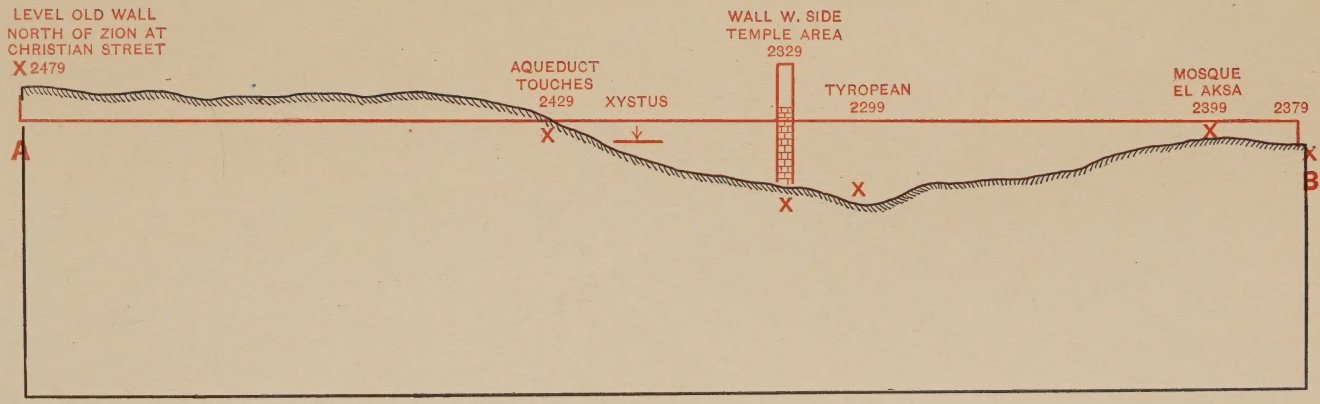
Moreover, the object for which it was constructed would forbid its being considered as part of the Temple. From the side where the Asmonean Palace stood, the Xystus must have been reached by a flight of stairs, no doubt broad and ample for the multitudes passing that way.

The *date* of the building of the Xystus is not known. The lifting up of the southwest corner of the Temple area is ascribed to Herod the Great, and at that time the aspect of the valley was greatly altered. It is possi-



THE XYSTUS.—See page 87

A B showing line of section.



THE XYSTUS. SHOWING LEVELS ON LINE A B.—See page 86

ble that some of the work of raising this corner was done before Herod's time.

The Plans accompanying this Chapter will be found useful and should be studied.

Plan I. shows the Old Wall on the north of Zion, the Xystus, Agrippa's Palace, and the position of the towers of John and Simon.

Plan II. shows part of the same and the point where Titus stood when he addressed the Jews in the Xystus across the Tyropean.

Plan III. shows the line of the Section from Zion across the Tyropean to the Temple Hill.

Plan IV. shows the comparative levels of the Xystus, the west wall of the Temple area, and the Tyropean valley.

A trace of the Xystus

The part of the city just south and east of the large German synagogue, the one with the green dome, bears the name Meidan, ميدان. This is an Arabic word meaning an open place for races. Sometimes it is a place where horses are exercised in the way of rival sports, but the general meaning is a place for athletic games or public games of any kind. Attention is therefore called to the following particulars: (1) That part of the city is now densely covered with houses. (2) The German synagogue stands on the site of the Palace of Agrippa II. (3) In the valley between this point and the Temple wall was the Xystus of Josephus' time. (4) The Xystus was the place for public games. (5) It is not improbable that the Arabic word preserves the memory of the ancient Xystus. (6) Unless the Arabic word preserves the tradition of the ancient place for games, it is difficult, or rather it is impossible, to account for its being applied to this thickly populated part of Jerusalem.

JEWISH TOWER WHERE AGRIPPA'S WALL TERMINATED

On the north side of the street leading from St. Stephen's Gate to Antonia. The view is looking west.

CHAPTER XII

THE KEDRON

Two Branches—Northeast Corner of Temple Area Built over One Branch

The Kedron

It is a mistake to suppose that the east wall of the Temple area continued north in a straight line as it does at the present time.

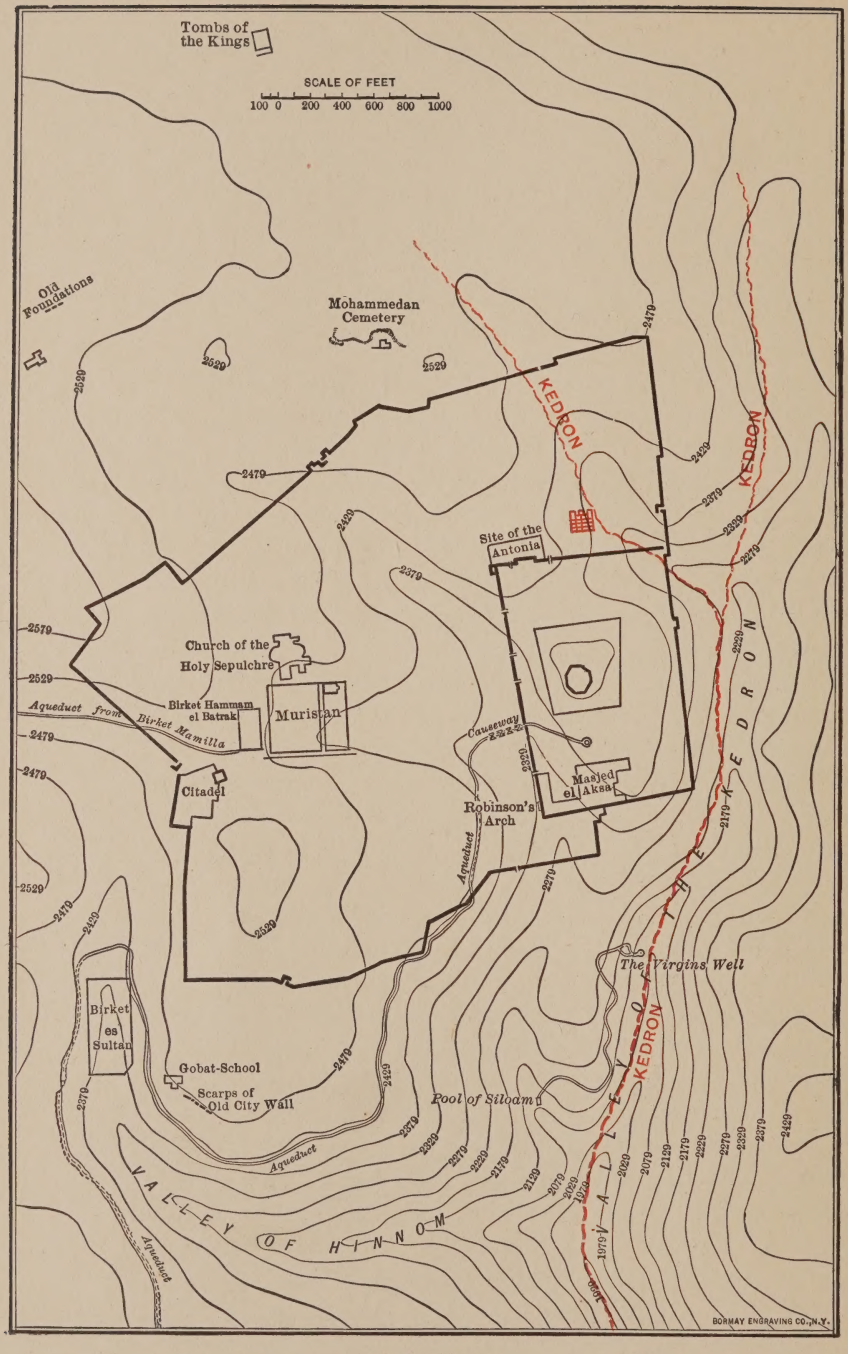
The northeast corner of the Temple area, as we know it, was made square by Herod the Great. At this point there existed at that time a very deep valley which Josephus more than once calls "the Kedron." It was a branch of the present valley known by that name, running past Gethsemane.

At this northeast corner Herod built a wall over one hundred feet in height, and filled in on the Temple side, his object being to increase the Temple area. But this valley—the Kedron—was not filled in on the outside, the north and east sides, as we see it to-day.

Even at the time of the siege, this outside valley had not yet been filled, for it is said that "the depth of the valley was terrific" (VI. iii. 2). This is mentioned where the connecting angle of the north and east colonnades of the Temple area is described as being "built over the Kedron." (See Plan.)

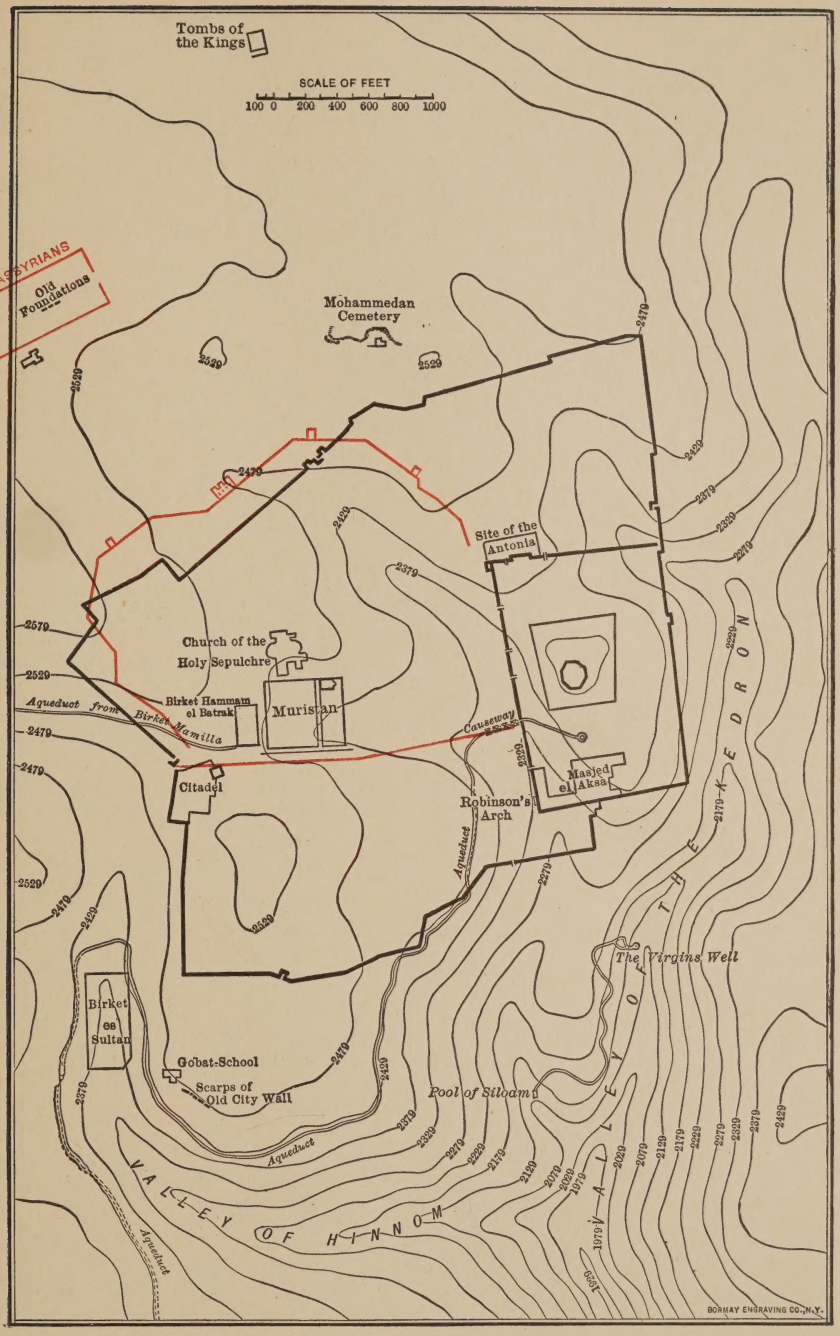
Moreover, in Christ's time, which was long after this wall had been built by Herod, the Pool of Bethesda in the same valley was above ground and accessible, whereas now it is sixty feet below the surface.

In connection with Agrippa's Wall (the Third) it is stated that it terminated "at the valley called Kedron." This wall joined the Old or First Wall at a tower of Jewish workmanship which still exists 540 feet west of St. Stephen's Gate. (See Illustration.)



THE KEDRON, UNDER NORTHEAST CORNER OF TEMPLE AREA

Jewish Tower where Agrippa's Wall coming from the north, terminated.



SECOND WALL—CAMP OF THE ASSYRIANS

The valley we are now considering is still easily traced by the eye, certainly in its northern part, and its great depth near St. Stephen's Gate is fully confirmed by well-ascertained Levels. (See Illustration in Chapter IV. of the upper portion of this valley north of the city.)

After the capture of the First Wall, Titus moved his camp within it to the place called "the Camp of the Assyrians," "holding the entire space as far as the Kedron" (V. vii. 3). This is to be understood of the valley—the Kedron—where Agrippa's Wall terminated.

For east wall of the city, see Chapter IV.

CHAPTER XIII

HEROD'S PALACE AND GARDEN

Great Extent—Part Played in Siege

Herod's Palace

THE location and history of this palace deserve careful attention as a help towards illustrating the topography of what we call modern Zion.

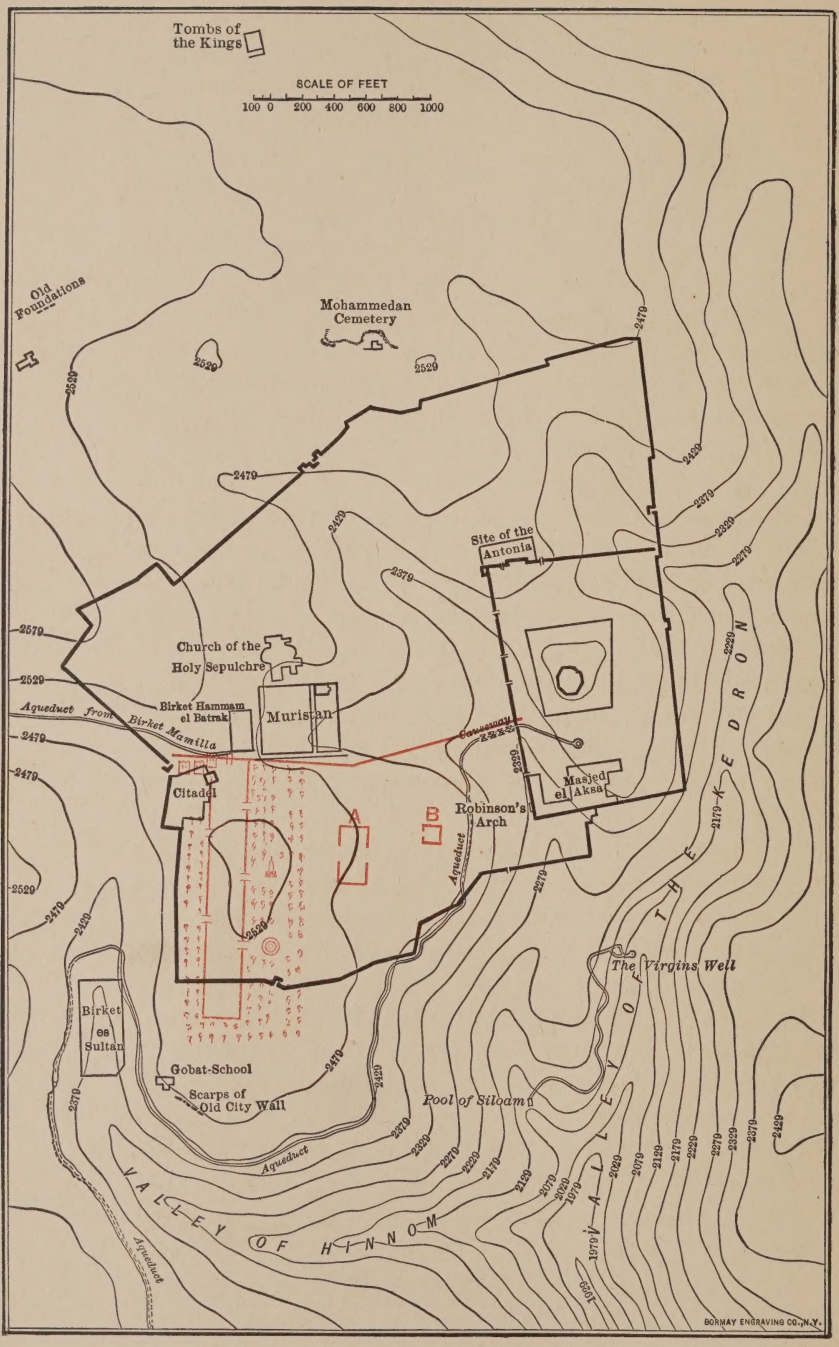
We have a fairly good account of its construction and elaborate appointments, and what is of very great importance we have further, in the history of two events seventy years apart, incidental evidence of the vast number of people it could accommodate.

In the history of the city since the time of Titus very little is said of this palace; but there are the best of reasons for believing it to have been one of the most spacious and magnificent structures of ancient Jerusalem. It bore in Greek the same name as Antonia itself, *phrourion, φρουριον,* and was reckoned as one of the three fortresses of the city. Antonia was the *fortress* guarding the Temple; the Temple was the *fortress* guarding the Lower City; while the Upper City had its own *fortress,* which was Herod's Palace (V. v. 8).

Western half of Zion open ground

There is no evidence to show that the western half of modern Zion was, in ancient times, occupied by streets and dwellings like some other parts of the city. The contrary supposition is the correct one.

(1) When Herod decided to build here a vast structure which should serve at once as palace, fortress, and extensive pleasure garden, he was not obliged to clear away houses, walls, ruins, and the like, the accumulations of many centuries. The ground was largely free for him to build upon.



PLAN I.—HEROD'S PALACE AND GARDEN

Two red lines at north end indicate the Garden Gate. A, Upper Market. B, Agrippa's Palace.

(2) In all the diggings that have been made in that region, including the space beyond the wall occupied by the Latin, Greek, and Armenian cemeteries, the Tomb of David, and south as far as Bishop Gobat's School, very few ancient remains have been found.

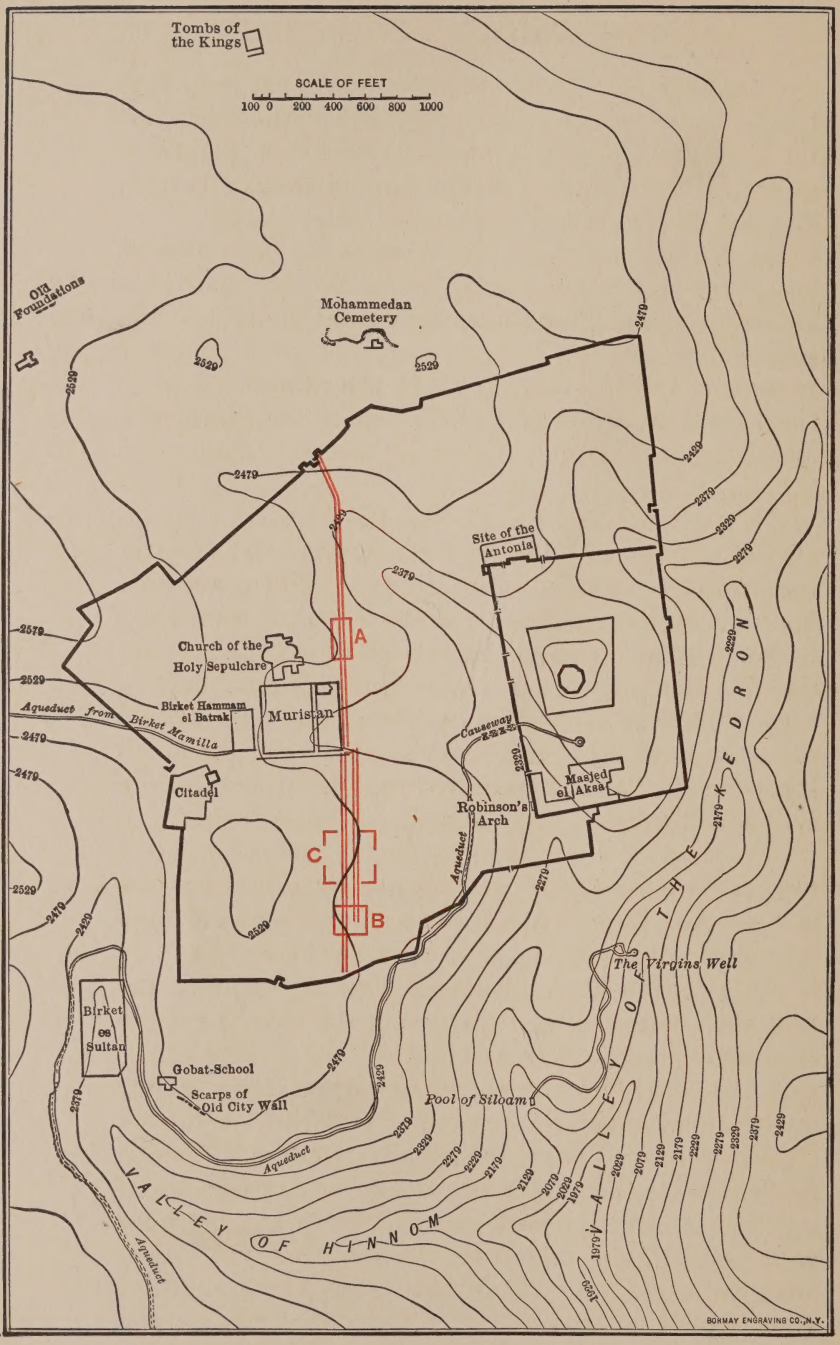
(3) All this extensive region occupied by the cemeteries, the Armenian Garden, the Barracks, the Armenian Patriarchate and its many adjacent buildings, and considerable ground besides, was, not so very many years ago, vacant land. It may have remained so ever since the destruction of Herod's Palace and Garden in A.D. 70.

Asmonean Palace; Upper Market-place

The Asmonean Palace occupied the centre of the residential portion of Zion, and the Market-place lay to the west of the palace. One could look down from this upon the Market and across to the Palace of Herod the Great. From this point Bernice witnessed the destruction and slaughter ordered by Florus that took place in the Market, and the unjust crucifixions near the Palace of Herod to which he subjected many of the most prominent Jewish citizens (II. xiv. 9; xv. i. 2). (See Plan I. at B and A.)

A portion of the city occupied by houses crowded together and separated at irregular intervals by narrow streets, could not be called a market-place. There must be an open area, ample room for buyers and sellers to move about and to display their goods. Around the area there would be stalls, shops, and bazaars; but the area itself must be open and roomy.

In the Jewish quarter there are now two long narrow streets running parallel to each other, which during six days in the week are thronged with traders. The one known as "Jew street," especially towards its southern end, seems to be the most crowded trade centre in the entire city. Here, where the Jews almost tread upon one another, is the great Jewish Market of Jerusalem. (See Plan II. at B.)



PLAN II.—UPPER AND LOWER MARKETS OF MODERN TIMES

A, Lower Market crowded north from its original position in ancient times. B, Modern Market in Jew street. C, Location of ancient Upper Market.

The crowd here is dense because there is no room for it to expand. There is no objection to supposing, in fact there is the highest probability that it is true, that the Upper Market-place of Josephus' time was located here,—but it was then a wide, open, roomy space.

Here is where the massacre took place. The houses lying near the Market-place were pillaged and the unfortunate inhabitants were butchered in the narrow streets (II. xiv. 9).

On that fatal day in A.D. 66 not less than 3,600 men, women, and children were killed; for all of which suffering and bloodshed the cruel tyrant Florus was responsible.

Details of Herod's Palace

It is said that Herod "constructed a residence for himself in the Upper City containing two spacious and most beautiful buildings with which the Temple bore no comparison. These he named after his friends, the one Cesarium and the other Agrippium" (I. xxi. 1).

In V. iv. 4 we have a fuller description, but, like all the notices of this palace, it is less exact than we could wish. It lay inward from the three towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, whose position we know.

"The magnificence of the work and the skill displayed in its construction could not be surpassed. It was entirely surrounded by a wall thirty cubits high, on which at equal distances there were towers. It had immense dining halls, each sufficient for reclining couches for a hundred guests. The length of the beams supporting the roof and ceiling was remarkable. It had a multitude of rooms of which the furnishings were elaborate and costly. One cloistered court led into another, and the parts that were open to the sky were beautiful with vines, plants, and flowers. There were grove-like parks, with long walks through them which were lined with water courses. There were many ponds in which were bronze figures through which the water was dis-

charged; and the tame doves were provided with attractive sheltering houses near the water."

In this description one thing is clear, namely, the vast space which the palace occupied. This is fully borne out by the details we have of it during the troubles under Florus, A.D. 66. At this time the insurgents were in control of the Temple and the Lower Town; consequently, they were numerous and powerful. The peace party held the Upper Town. This force consisted of the principal men of Jerusalem, the chief priests, the large number of citizens who were desirous of peace, the 3,000 cavalry that Agrippa had sent to Jerusalem, and a considerable body of Roman troops. This body of men, as well as the insurgents, was powerful, since for seven days they kept the enemy at bay, during which time the slaughter was great on both sides. They were at last obliged to retreat "from the Upper City"; but they withdrew to the Palace of Herod (II. xvii. 5, 7, 8).

This confirms the supposition already made, that the Upper City and the Palace of Herod were separate and at a distance from each other. A very moderate estimate would place the number of armed men in the palace at not less than 10,000, to which must be added the horses and the crowds of servants and other non-combatants.

Open space around the palace

The insurgents were powerful: they had possession of the Temple, the Lower City, and had captured the Upper City from their antagonists; they had burned the residence of the High Priest Ananias, the Palace of Agrippa and Bernice, and the building where the public archives were kept; they had assaulted and captured Antonia and massacred the Roman garrison in it, and were now attacking the Palace of Herod.

Wild with success, excitement, and passion, they would not have delegated a few hundred men for this purpose. Ten thousand or fifteen thousand well-armed

men is a small estimate for the crowd of insurgents that swarmed around the palace that was soon to fall into their hands.

It is a very significant fact that this attacking force divided itself into four bodies. This shows that on four sides the palace could be approached by a large body of men (II. xvii. 7). This is conclusive evidence that all around the palace there was very ample space.

Events of the siege

The subsequent events of the siege are as follows: The royal troops and the citizens of Jerusalem were, later, allowed to retire, but this privilege was refused to the Romans.

The number of the insurgent force is further illustrated by the fact that the Romans did not consider themselves able "to force their way through such a multitude." They therefore withdrew to the three towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne (II. xvii. 8. This is evidence that they could pass from the palace to the towers without encountering the insurgents.

After they had gone, "the insurgents entered the palace, plundered the baggage of the Romans, and burned their camp" (II. xvii. 8). Later, the Romans offered to surrender if their lives were spared, which the Jews promised them; but the moment the Romans laid down their arms they were all massacred (II. xvii. 10).

Vast size of the palace

In the disturbances following the death of Herod the Great, when Sabinus was in command in Jerusalem, 4 B.C., (the foregoing events under Florus were in A.D. 66), we have further evidence of the vast size of Herod's Palace.

Varus had left a full legion in Antonia and had gone away to Antioch; but in addition to the legion Sabinus had other Roman troops "besides a crowd of his own men whom he had armed," and was shut up with these in the palace.

A vast multitude of Jews from all parts of the country had come to Jerusalem for the feast of Pentecost, and they had formed three great camps in different parts of the city against the Romans. One of these bodies besieged Sabinus and his forces in the Palace of Herod, and they were threatened with total destruction unless they withdrew. Upon this demand "the bulk of the king's (that is, Herod's) troops deserted to the Jews" (II. iii. 4).

The account of this event in the *Antiquities,* XVII. x. 3, is the same, namely, "the greatest part of the king's troops deserted to the insurgents." But a force of 3,000 infantry and cavalry, "the most warlike portion," remained with the Romans.

Here we have 3,000 men, a part of whom were cavalry with their horses, also "the bulk of the king's troops" that had deserted, and all the Roman forces under Sabinus (not the legion that was in Antonia), together with camp followers of all kinds,—to be provided for in the Palace of Herod, i.e. before the desertion of "the king's troops" took place. It is almost impossible to realize the vastness of the space within the walls of this palace.

In connection with Herod's Palace there is a passage in V. iv. 4 which requires a word of explanation. It is translated as follows:

"To those towers which lay northward was attached on the inner side the royal residence, which exceeds all description."

The danger of misapprehension is this: to suppose that to be "attached on the inner side" means that the royal residence was joined to the towers as one wall of a house joins or is attached to another wall.

The Greek word means *to be bound* or *yoked to.* It also means *to be attached, to be contiguous.* We know that there was a high wall entirely around Herod's Palace; and further, that a large body of soldiers could

pass from the palace to the three towers without molestation from the enemy that was besieging it.

The topographical conditions assist in explaining the word; and the meaning of the passage is this:—

"These (towers) were situated to the north; contiguous to these, inward (towards the Upper City), was the Royal Palace."

Connection of Upper and Lower Markets

In the Roman period, at least, a street ran through Jerusalem from north to south, the line of which is followed by the streets of the modern city. This street was lined with columns, according to the fashion of that time, and until recent years a dozen or more of these columns could be counted. "A" represents the region of Khan es Zeit, which is always crowded and where a great deal of traffic goes on. The Lower Market was crowded to the north, and its only representative is this particular point. We have a trace of this in Constantine's time. The double street in the Plan corresponds to the two Jew streets, or rather Jew street proper and the street parallel to it, which is always congested with people and traffic towards its southern end. This point is represented by B. The Upper Market-place of former times is represented by C. It was natural that the Upper Market and the Lower Market should be connected by a continuous street, and this makes the fact of these two points being connected now by what is practically a continuous street all the more interesting. The ancient conditions have thus been preserved to modern times, although the fact itself has not its original importance, since for many years it has been safe to live outside the walls, and traffic goes on elsewhere as well as at these two particular places.

"A" does not represent the "Lower Market" of former times, and its being crowded to the north as just stated is explained in Chapter XXXVIII.

The point where the camera stood for this photograph is 1,000 feet from the south wall of the Armenian Gar-

Area of Herod's Garden

den, and this includes the open space where the soldiers drill. Between the west wall of the city, as seen in the Illustration, and the Armenian buildings the distance is 300 feet, and the garden itself is 800 feet long from north to south. To this area (the garden with the drill ground) must be added a section on the east side for its entire length about 200 feet wide and 1,300 feet long. This would contain not far from 6 acres, and together with the garden and drill ground of the soldiers we have 13 acres which in ancient times was devoted to the Palace and Garden of Herod the Great. Of the extent of this Garden of Herod the Illustration enables us to appreciate a portion only.

LOOKING SOUTH FROM THE SOUTH WALL OF THE CASTLE OF DAVID

Showing the Armenian Patriarchate, and the Armenian Garden. Beyond, to the south, are seen houses on the Hill of Evil Counsel, the Judas Tree, and the road to Bethlehem along the Plain of Rephaim. This is the site of Herod's Palace and Garden, the great extent of which is described in the text.

CHAPTER XIV

DEFENDERS OF JERUSALEM

Walls Assigned to Each—Headquarters of Simon—Cistern and Aqueduct—Connected with Hippicus

Position of defenders of Jerusalem

THE hints as to the position of the defenders of the walls are invaluable. The jealousy between the two factions had led to many bloody encounters, and they ceased their cruel warfare only after the Roman engines had begun to batter their walls (V. vi. 4).

As one result of the bitterness between the parties of John and Simon, the territory which each occupied and defended is carefully defined. This is done on several occasions; hence their mutual hatred and conflicts work for our advantage in enabling us to locate better the walls and monuments whose positions we wish to know.

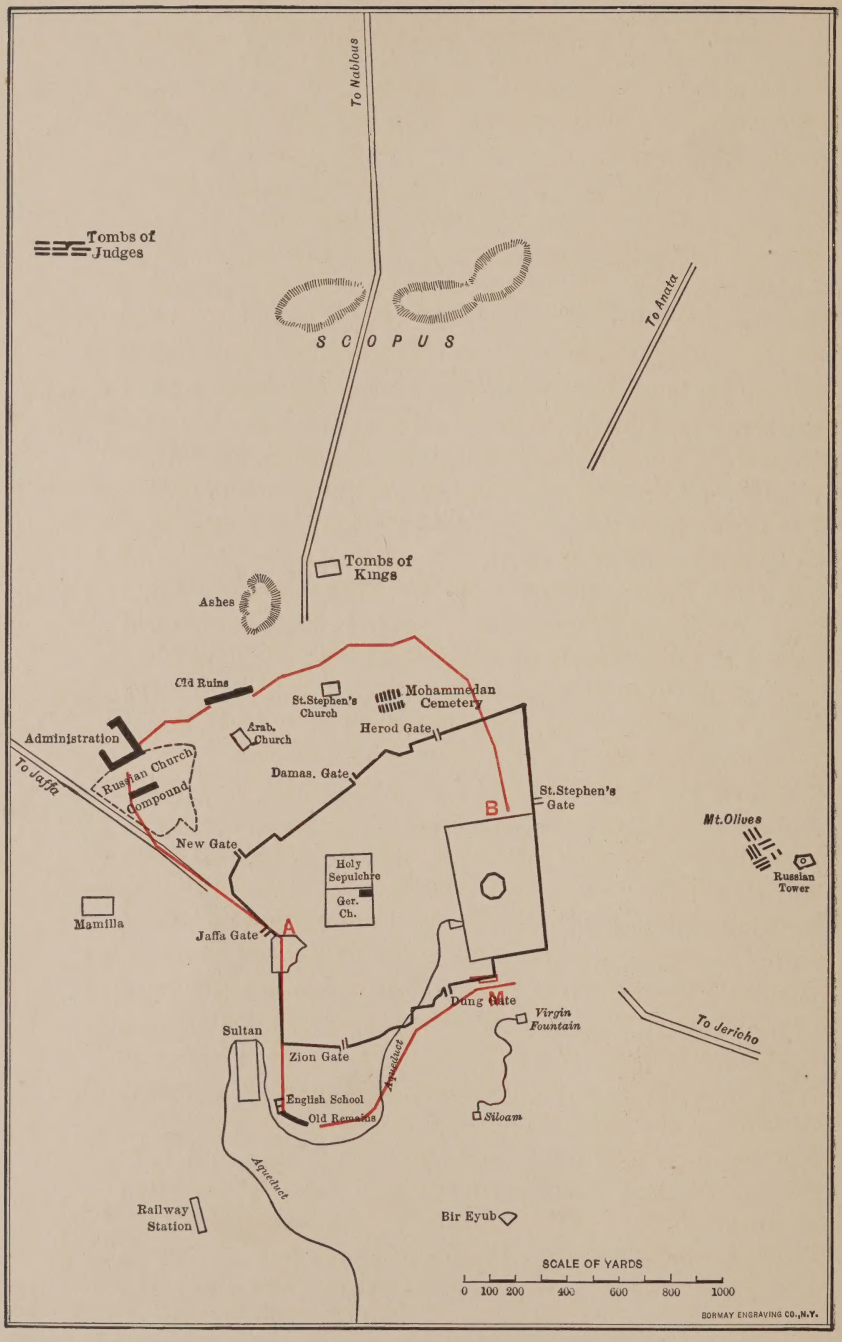
Number of troops under John and Simon

Simon had about 15,000 men under him, and John had about 8,400 under his command. Simon, therefore, should have had twice as much wall to defend as John (V. vi. 1).

"Simon occupied the Upper Town and the Great Wall as far as the Kedron, with as much of the Old Wall as, bending eastward from Siloam, descended to the Palace of Monobazus, king of Adiabene, beyond the Euphrates. He held, likewise, the Fountain and the Acra, which was the Lower Town, with the interval as far as the Palace of Helena, the mother of Monobazus."

"John occupied the Temple and the parts about it to a considerable distance, with Ophla and the valley called Kedron."

The interval between these respective boundaries, so far as they lay within the city, was cleared by burning the houses.



PLAN I.—POSITIONS OF SIMON AND JOHN IN SIEGE OF FIRST WALL

Agrippa's Wall extended from A to B and was called the Great Wall. At B it joined the north wall of the Temple area. From A to M was called the Old Wall. This entire wall, M A to B, was held by Simon, and all the city in addition. The broken black lines indicate the portion held by John. M indicates also the position of the Palace of Monobazus.

Explanations

By "Upper Town" is meant modern Zion.

The "Great Wall" is the Wall of Agrippa—its entire length.

"As far as the Kedron." By "Kedron" is meant the valley coming down from the low ground east of the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto, through the northeast corner of the city, to St. Stephen's Gate. (See Chapter XII.)

At this point, underneath the northeast corner of the Haram area, the bottom of the ancient valley is 120 feet below the present level of the ground.

Agrippa's Wall touched the city at a point between the site of the Tower of Antonia and St. Stephen's Gate, and had nothing to do with the Kedron as we now know it, running past Gethsemane.

The "Old Wall" was the wall running round to the south of modern Zion.

The "Palace of Helena" was east of the Holy Sepulchre in Acra or the Lower Town.

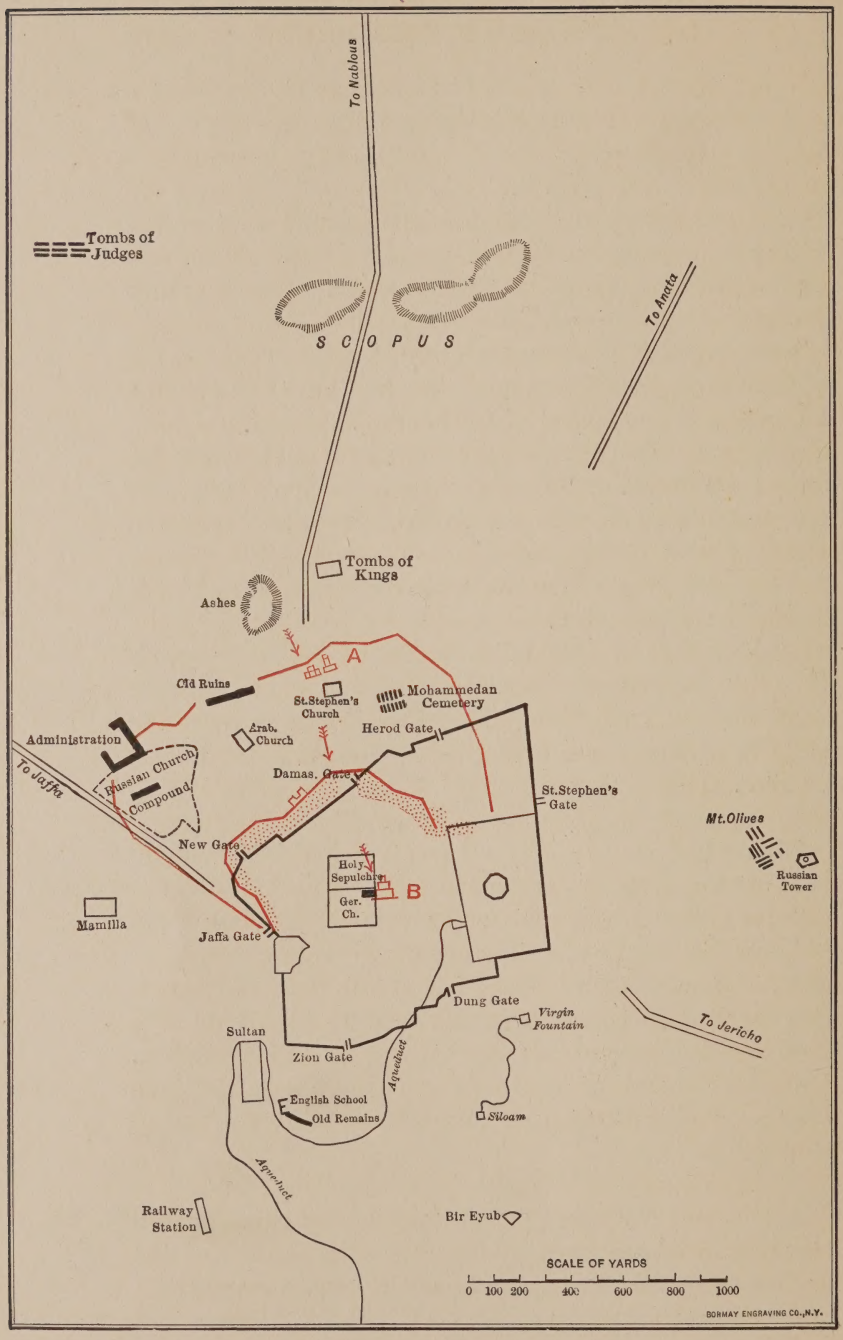
"Eastward from Siloam." "From" means *from the vicinity of,* elsewhere explained by *huper, ὑπερ, above,* or *over.* (See Chapter VII.)

Simon controlled the First Wall

Simon had control of the First Wall, that is, Agrippa's, throughout its entire length, and its defence devolved wholly upon him. In this work John, from his position, could take no part whatever. When, however, the capture of the First Wall was imminent, Simon allowed some of John's men to pass from the Temple, their proper territory, to assist in its defence. In this moment of great danger these two factions dropped their mutual quarrels and united for their common safety (V. vi. 4).

Positions of forces in siege of Second Wall

After the First Wall had fallen, the defenders of the city had to rearrange their forces for the defence of the Second Wall, but their relative positions are maintained and are pretty clearly defined (V. vii. 3). "John and



PLAN II.—POSITIONS OF JOHN AND SIMON IN THE DEFENCE OF THE SECOND WALL

The arrows indicate the course of Titus' army, according to his plan of the siege. A indicates the Monuments of King Alexander, and B the Monument of the High Priest John.

his party fought from the Antonia, from the north colonnade of the Temple, and in front of the Monuments of King Alexander." (For foundations of these monuments, see Chapter XVIII.)

"Simon, intercepting the assault near John's Monument, manned the intervening space as far as the gate through which water was introduced to the Tower of Hippicus." (The Greek word translated "in front of" is *pro*, προ, while that translated "near" is *para*, παρα.)

Titus attacked the central tower of this wall on the north, and it was here that the famous episode of the Jew Castor took place. This tower was in the territory guarded by Simon. Castor was one of Simon's men. He sent to Simon telling him that he could "keep the Romans at bay for a time," which he succeeded in doing; but his trick was at last discovered (V. vii. 4). It was at this point that Titus forced his way into the Lower City, and it is helpful to remember that in the part of the New City which was behind him and where his men were operating "were the Wool Market, the Smithies or Brazier's Shops, and the Clothes Market," and that on the inside of this wall "the streets led obliquely to the ramparts" (V. viii. 1). This was Simon's territory.

Positions after capture of Second Wall

After the Romans had secured the Second Wall, the relative positions of John and Simon are the same. The two legions that erected mounds at the Antonia and the Temple were met by the forces of John, for the Antonia and the Temple belonged to his territory; while the two that erected mounds at the Monument of the High Priest John were met by the forces of Simon (V. ix. 2; xi. 4). This locates Simon in the heart of the Lower City.

After Antonia was captured John and Simon are together in the Temple, each surrounded by his own partisans, their bitterness towards each other not yet beaten out of them, trying to defend the sacred place against the enemy (VI. i. 7).

After the Temple was taken and before the Lower City was burned, Simon controlled Helena's Palace, where a terrible massacre of helpless people was carried out by the insurgents under his command (VI. vii. 1). When only the Upper City remained, although John and his forces were in it, Simon, as it had all along been his territory, was in supreme command (VI. viii. 2). At last both of these terrible tyrants were captured hiding their wicked and cowardly heads in underground caverns (VI. ix. 4).

Observe:—In the capture of the First Wall, Titus did not come into contact with the troops of John. This was practically true also in the capture of the Second Wall. He broke this wall where it was defended by the troops of Simon. From this point on the inside of this wall the streets led obliquely to the eastward and there, on the east, i.e. on his left, he may have encountered the troops of John.

Headquarters of Simon

During the siege of Jerusalem Simon occupied the Tower of Phasaelus as his headquarters (V. iv. 3). During all this time the Upper Town was in his control (V. vi. 1; VII. ii. 2).

Previous to Simon's entering the city John was the most important personage among the revolutionists in Jerusalem; but after that event Simon superseded him and held the position to the last.

For example, Simon had under his command twice the number of troops that John had, also twice the extent of territory, and twice the length of wall to defend.

After the capture of the First and Second Walls, when the Romans concentrated their forces upon the Antonia, both Simon and John were found in the Temple area contending against the enemy; but they were fighting in separate divisions, each being surrounded by his partisans (V. i. 7).

John, however, appears to have been in supreme com-

mand at this time, as in the Temple he had been from the outset, for that was distinctly his territory.

In the defence of the Inner Temple, a nephew of Simon is mentioned as having specially distinguished himself for bravery against the Romans. At this time also one of Simon's most bloody body-guards deserted to the enemy (VI. iv. 1, 2).

After the Temple was taken both Simon and John retreated to the Upper City, and both were present on or near the Xystus when Titus, from the Temple side, made his address advising unconditional surrender. Although this conference had been proposed by Simon and John together with their partisans, they refused the terms offered.

On the contrary, notwithstanding their desperate condition, they asked to be allowed with their families and friends to pass through the Wall of Circumvallation. Titus was indignant at this request, and instead of granting it, told them to defend themselves in the best way they could (VI. vi. 2, 3).

The end of Simon's career is soon told: after the capture of the Upper City he hid himself in a secret cave, was discovered, and carried in chains to Rome, where he was executed (VII. ii. 2; v. 6).

Cistern under Hippicus

Josephus mentions a gate through which water was led into the Tower of Hippicus (V. vii. 3). Hippicus was the most western tower of the three rebuilt by Herod the Great, the others being Phasaelus and Mariamne. In V. vi. 5 this gate had been referred to in connection with previous events in the progress of the siege. The top of the wall on the north side of the Castle of David is 59 feet above the bottom of the moat as it at present exists. The top of the tower at the extreme northwest corner of the Castle is 11 feet higher than the wall, but it is from the top of the wall that the measurements are made. From the top of the wall to the bottom of the great cistern under the Castle

at this corner, is 77 feet, making the bottom of the cistern 18 feet below the bottom of the moat. The existence of an ancient canal, coming from the northwest and entering the Castle at this point, has long been known. In 1898, when the moat just at this angle was filled for the purpose of making a proper entrance to the city, this canal was exposed, and there is evidence that this one replaced a still more ancient and somewhat lower canal. This is more than probable, since it is certain that after repeated sieges the level of the ground was changed, and it is certain, likewise, that it would continue to be necessary to bring water into the Castle. The source of supply must always have been the Upper Pool of Gihon. There is an old officer in the Castle who has been allowed to remain in it for twenty-five or thirty years, and in his judgment the accumulation of rubbish on the bottom of the cistern amounts to three or four metres.

CHAPTER XV

DIFFERENT FACTIONS IN JERUSALEM

Revolutionary and Robber Element—Bloody Civil Struggles

Factions in Jerusalem

AT first the insurgents in Jerusalem seem to have been a disorganized mass of men, a sort of mob, desirous of change but without leaders and without organization or definite plans. They were increased in numbers, being joined by others from the outside, and became more and more desperate until they actually ruined the nation.

After some months, this mass disintegrated and crystallized into three strong parties under three leaders, Eleazar, John, and Simon. The ultimate aims of these men were similar, the methods by which they sought to accomplish these aims—namely, slaughter and cruelty—were practically the same, or rather they were identical; but there was no union. Each party hated, dreaded, and sought the destruction of the others (V. i. 4).

History of the revolutionists

A brief summary of the history and character of the revolutionary elements in Jerusalem seems necessary in order to show the political and moral condition of the city at the time of its fall. Few chapters in the annals of the world present more revolting scenes than this. Unparalleled tyranny and cruelties; lust and greed without limit; deeds which none but the worst criminals would commit; and by some of the most violent, wicked, and abandoned men the world has ever seen.

John of Gischala

John, who fled from Gischala to Jerusalem after Galilee was subdued, was a conspicuous character in the city during the entire siege. He aspired to supreme power, and at one time attained it (IV. vii. 1). He did

not enjoy this position long, however, for very soon the revolutionists split into two factions which in a little time became bitter enemies, each seeking to exterminate the other.

Revolutionists call in the Idumeans

Previous to John's assumption of supreme power there had been a severe conflict between the Peace Party and the Zealots, as the revolutionists were called. Zealots, brigands, assassins, robbers, and political schemers made up the revolutionary band. The Zealots, thinking they were not able to cope with their antagonists without aid from outside, sent for the Idumeans, a "cruel and bloody" people (IV. v. 1), "turbulent and impatient of control and ever on the watch for commotion" (IV. iv. 1), who after much difficulty and under cover of night and a fearful tempest, "a thunderstorm of unprecedented violence," entered the city (IV. iv. 5).

Terrible slaughter ensued, and many thousands of the Peace Party fell victims to the rage of this combined enemy (IV. v. 3). At last the Idumeans became weary of the high-handed methods of the Zealots and, fearing that all these atrocities would be charged to them (IV. v. 5), they retired to their homes (IV. vi. 1).

Not all, however, returned; for an army of 20,000 men had come to the city (IV. iv. 2), many of whom remained (IV. ix. 11).

John becomes supreme

It was subsequent to these events that John became chief of the Zealots and all the revolutionary party. Of these only, for there was always a Peace Party, who were robbed and massacred without mercy by all those who chose annihilation rather than submission to Rome.

At this time John within the city and Simon without, hostile to each other and intent on the destruction of whatever opposed them, kept the inhabitants of both city and country in a state of greatest terror (IV. ix. 10).

Simon enters the city

John's cruelties soon bore fruit, and there was open rebellion against him (IV. ix. 11), led chiefly by the Idumeans who had remained in the city. By these John and his party were chased into the Temple and his headquarters, the Palace of Grapte, was seized. John was confined to the Temple by his antagonists. The Idumeans, with some of the Zealots and some of the Peace Party, thought the best way to cope with John was to ask Simon to come into the city. This was done, and when he entered "he was greeted by the people as their saviour" (IV. ix. 11).

It is added that "as soon as he had entered with his army his sole care was to secure his own authority, and he considered those who had invited him and the faction against whom his aid had been solicited as alike and equally his enemies." It was in this manner that "Simon became master of Jerusalem" (IV. ix. 11, 12).

Eleazar forms a party

Not long after this there was a rebellion in John's own party: Eleazar, a prominent man who also aimed at supreme power, together with a number of men of influence and a considerable body of armed men, broke away from the rest, seized the Inner Court of the Temple, shut out John and his party, and fortified themselves against them (V. i. 2).

Three leaders and three parties

There were at this moment three famous leaders, each supported by a strong body of armed men, who had divided all Jerusalem into three hostile camps. Eleazar held the Inner Court of the Temple proper; John, the Temple area; and Simon, the Upper City and practically all the Lower City (V. i. 3).

Eleazar and John unite; thereafter two parties

Subsequently, as the feast of unleavened bread was at hand, Eleazar as an act of generosity "opened the gates and admitted all such of the people as were desirous of worshipping within the Court." John and his partisans took a treacherous advantage of this and, dressed in

their festival cloaks but with weapons concealed beneath them, they entered, designing to seize the Temple. This was not done without a bloody struggle, but John's plan succeeded (V. iii. 1). In this rough manner the forces of John and Eleazar became united, so that there were now two parties instead of three; and these two parties, John the leader of one and Simon of the other, continued without further change until the end of the siege.

Leaders characterized

"He who had been stripped by Simon was turned over to John; and those who had been plundered by John fell into the hands of Simon. They pledged each other in turn in the blood of the populace; and shared among them the carcases of their wretched victims. On the subject of pre-eminence they were at variance; in deeds of impiety they were agreed" (V. x. 4).

"As it is impossible to relate their enormities in detail, I shall briefly state that no other city ever endured such calamities, and no generation ever existed more prolific in crime—for in the end they even disdained the Hebrew race that they might appear less impious towards aliens. They confessed themselves to be what they were, slaves and the very dregs of society, the spurious and polluted spawn of the nation. They it was who overthrew the city and compelled the Romans to record a melancholy triumph" (V. x. 5).

No historian ever put on record a more truthful statement than this, namely, that not the Romans, but the brigands and their leaders were the real destroyers of Jerusalem.

Jews and Jebusites

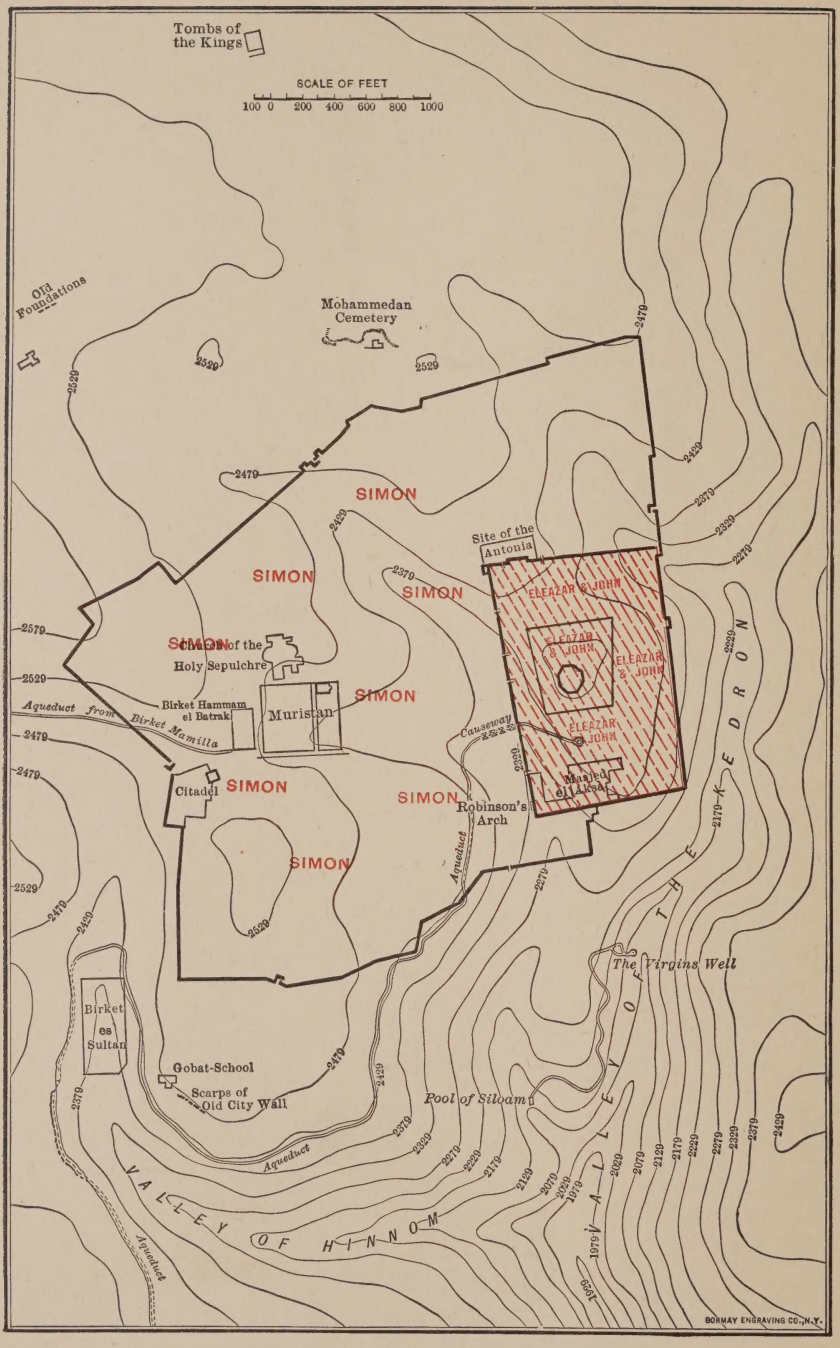
There is a curious and interesting parallel between the conduct of the Jebusites, as recorded in 2 Sam. v. 6, and that of some of the Jews in A. D. 66, as related by Josephus (IV. iii. 1).

After Galilee was subdued by the Romans, John of Gischala fled to Jerusalem and concealed the cause of

his flight. He represented that the Romans were exhausted, and that the Jews behind the walls of Jerusalem could never be overcome. The more he was suspected the louder he talked.

"He exhorted all to warlike measures; he set forth in false colors the weakness of the Romans; he extolled their own strength and ridiculed the ignorance of the inexperienced; remarking that even should the Romans take wings they could never surmount the ramparts of Jerusalem." This was certainly foolish boasting.

In 2 Sam. v. 6 we read: "The Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land, spake unto David, saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame thou shalt not come in hither; thinking, David cannot come in hither." This also was foolish boasting.



PLAN I.—LOCATION OF FACTIONS IN SIEGE OF JERUSALEM

Simon against Eleazar and John.

CHAPTER XVI

LOCATION OF DIFFERENT FACTIONS THROUGHOUT THE SIEGE

Factions revealing topographical details

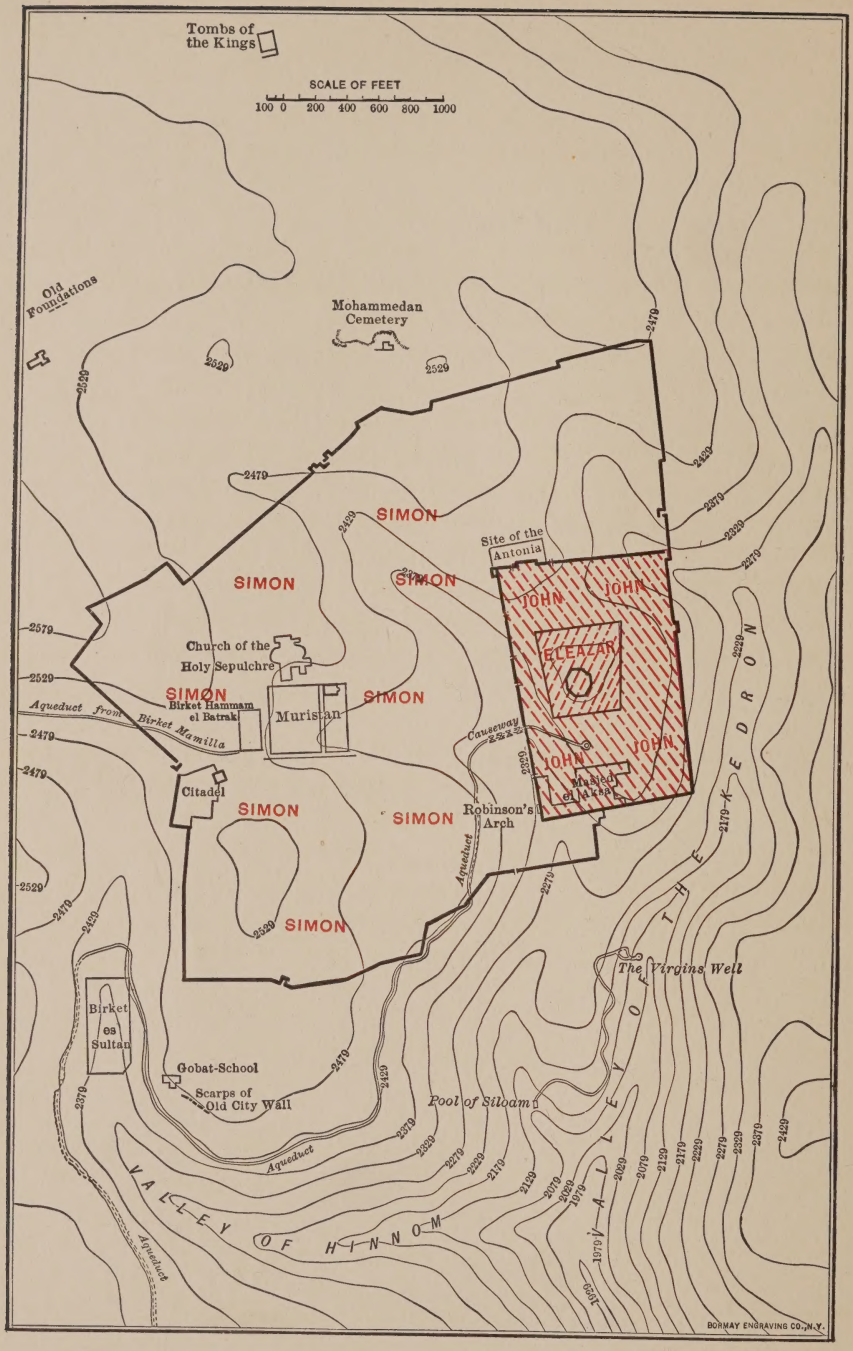
THE relations of the different factions in Jerusalem, and especially the conflicts between them, reveal certain topographical details that are of much interest. These appear at three different points of time,—(1) Immediately after Simon had entered the city, when John held the Temple and Simon the rest of Jerusalem (IV. ix. 12). (2) When there were three parties, Eleazar holding the Inner Court, John the Outer Court or Temple area, and Simon the Upper and Lower Cities. (3) After Eleazar and John had united and there became two permanent parties.

Simon and John

Simon, after entering the city, almost at once attacked the Temple. John's forces were posted on the colonnades and battlements and, because of their higher position, could throw their weapons down upon the enemy with great effect; and to obtain still further advantage in this way John erected four towers at as many different points of the Temple area and from these, by means of "scorpions and balistas with archers and slingers," Simon's attacks were rendered futile, while many of his men were killed (IV. ix. 12).

Towers of Simon and John

One of these towers was above the Xystus, and there is no mention of a counter effort on the part of Simon. At the very close of the siege, however, when the mounds were being constructed against the Upper City, there is mentioned "the tower which Simon during the contest with John built as a fortress for himself" (VI. viii. 1). John's tower was on the Temple side, and Simon's



PLAN II.—LOCATION OF FACTIONS IN SIEGE OF JERUSALEM

Eleazar revolts from John, making three parties—John between two enemies.

on the opposite or west side, at or near the Xystus. Position of these towers is shown in Chapter XI., Xystus.

Eleazar and John

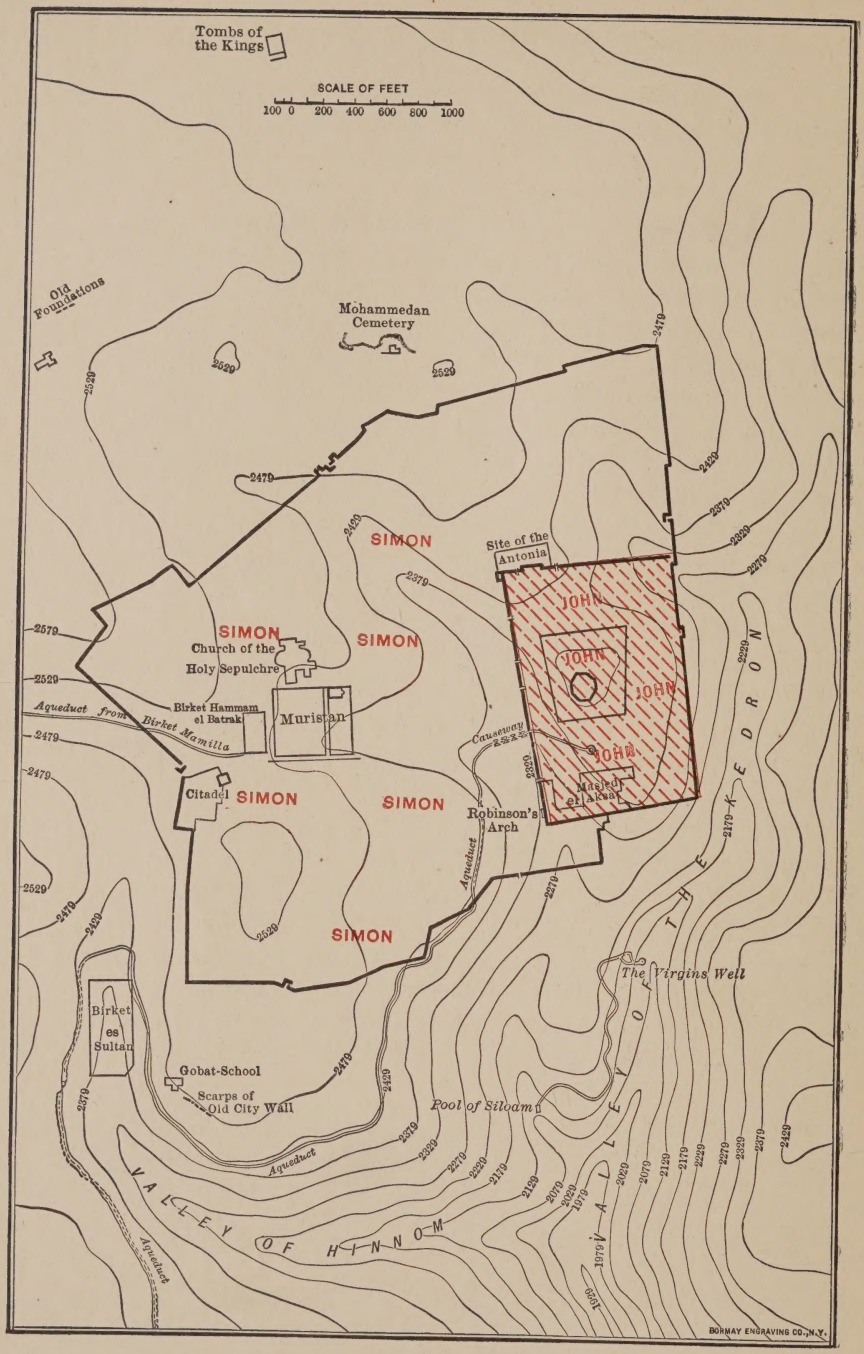
Eleazar, from the Inner Court of the Temple, had the advantage of John, who was below him. John persisted in his attacks upon Eleazar, but suffered far more injury than he inflicted upon his enemy. He had "Eleazar over his head" (V. i. 2). John was actually between two fires, Eleazar above him and Simon below him, and he had to be unusually active. By hand weapons he repelled those attacking him from below, and those above he tried to keep in check by his engines. He had of "scorpions, catapults, and balistas an ample supply"; but with these he killed also many innocent people who were worshipping at the altar. Sometimes John was attacked simultaneously from above and below.

Sacred timber used by John

King Agrippa had brought from the Lebanon a large amount of timber with which to repair the Temple, and this was stored in the Temple area. John, in his eagerness to defend himself, made use of this timber for his engines and towers. This wood is called "sacred timber," and his act in using it is characterized as "profane." These towers he placed on the west side of the Temple, because on that side the Temple wall rose vertically from the floor of the Outer Court, while on the other three sides the Temple was approached by flights of steps (V. i. 5).

Causeway and bridge not used

Simon was really better off as to provisions than either Eleazar or John, because he drew his supplies from the entire city (V. i. 4). Simon had always to attack John from below (V. i. 3). In all his attacks upon John, his men had to go up or ascend (V. i. 4), because John, being on the Temple area, occupied a higher position. This shows that the ground of the



PLAN III.—LOCATION OF FACTIONS IN SIEGE OF JERUSALEM

Eleazar and John re-unite; Eleazar disappears. Final arrangement: Simon against John.

Lower City, all around the Temple area, was lower than the Temple area itself.

There was at this time the Causeway, leading from the Temple area to the Upper City, and south of that the bridge near the Xystus, but neither of these is mentioned as an approach for Simon's troops; consequently, Simon approached always from the Lower City.

This fact of lower ground around the Temple area is illustrated by the statement in connection with John, that "from the colonnades he assailed those coming up from the town" (V. i. 4).

Storehouses burned

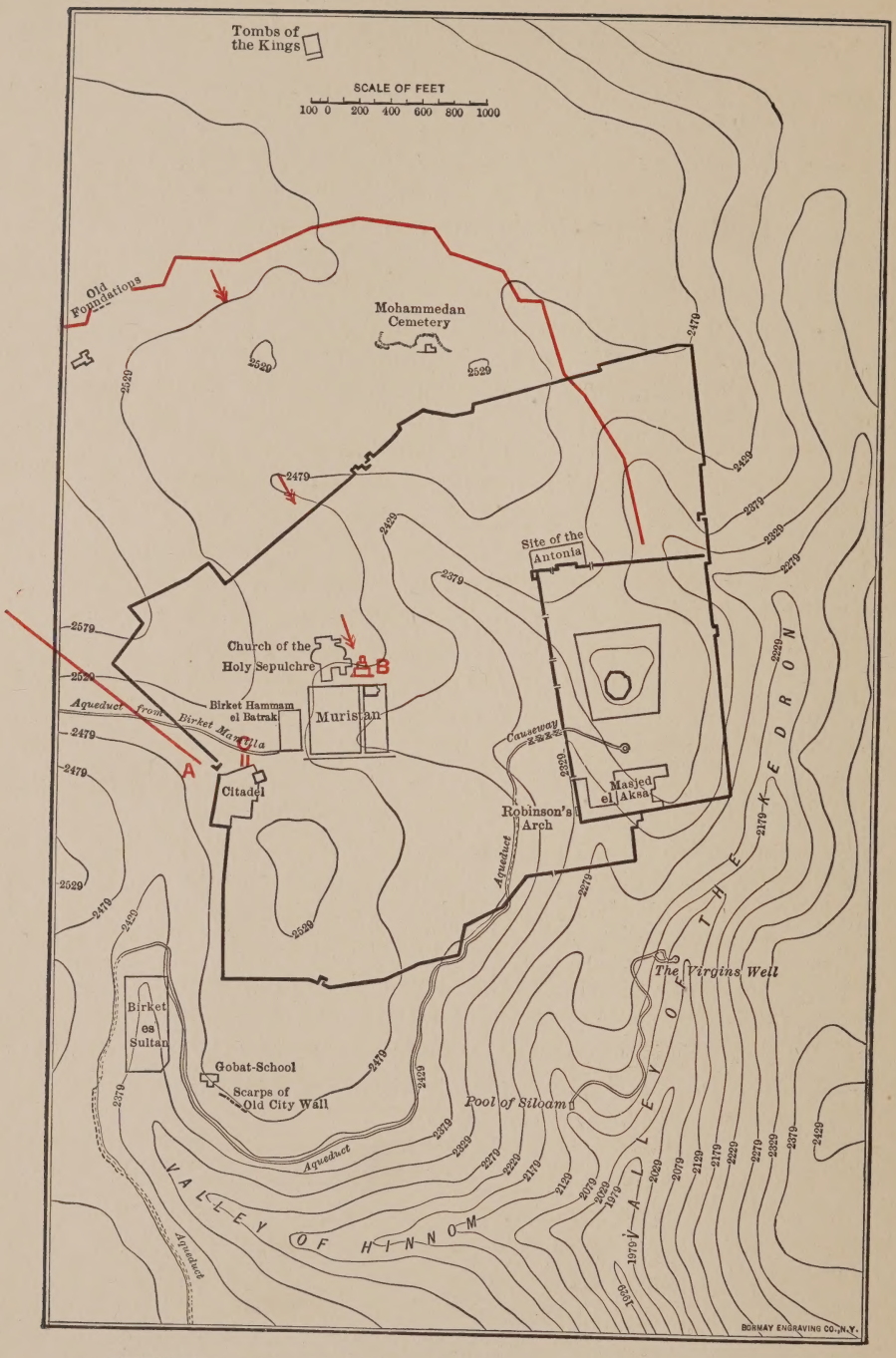
Between John and Simon there were attacks and counter-attacks; John was chased by Simon into the Temple area, and again Simon was chased by John back into the city; and as they alternately advanced and retreated they, throughout the whole extent of the way passed over, "set fire to the storehouses which were filled with corn and provisions of every kind."

"Both seemed to be designedly serving the Romans by destroying what the city had provided against a siege."

"The provisions which might have lasted for years being consumed" in this manner, "there was nothing for the inhabitants to do but to die by famine."

The result of the reckless acts of these tyrants was "that everything around the Temple was burned down" (V. i. 4).

Later, when the division of the city between John and Simon is mentioned, it is said, referring to this destruction of storehouses, "when they had reduced all that lay between them to ashes, a place was cleared for their mutual conflicts" (V. vi. 1).



A, HIPPICUS, COMMENCEMENT OF THE THIRD WALL. B, MONUMENT OF JOHN THE HIGH PRIEST. C, THE GATE GENNATH:—GARDEN GATE. THE ARROWS INDICATE THE COURSE OF TITUS' ARMY

CHAPTER XVII

MONUMENT OF HIGH PRIEST JOHN

Served as a Landmark—Its Position

Monument of John the High Priest

THIS was a well-known landmark, and during the progress of the siege comes into notice several times.

Titus, when planning his attack, "determined to make the assault opposite to the Monument of John the High Priest, for at this point the outer bulwark was lower and the second was not connected, the builders having neglected to fortify those places where the New Town was thinly inhabited, but there was easy access to the Third Wall, through which he designed to capture the Upper Town and through the Antonia the Temple" (V. vi. 2). The word translated "opposite" is *kata*, κατα, and the only purpose the monument serves is that of a very general landmark.

In the defence of the Second Wall this monument is again mentioned in the division of the Jewish troops under John and Simon:—

"John and his party fighting from the Antonia, from the north colonnade of the Temple, and in front of the Monuments of King Alexander, while Simon's band, intercepting the assault near John's Monument, manned the intervening space as far as the gate through which the water was introduced to the Tower of Hippicus." (See Chapter XIV.) The word translated "near" is *para*, παρα (V. vii. 3). (See location of troops of John and Simon in Chapter XIV.)

After the Second Wall was taken, this monument appears again in the attack upon the Third Wall. "Titus formed the legions into two divisions and commenced raising embankments both at the Antonia and

at John's Monument. At the latter point he designed to carry the Upper Town and the Temple through the former, for unless the Temple was secured the city could not be retained without danger." The word rendered "at" before Antonia and before John is in each case *kata,* κατα (V. ix. 2).

"One of those at the Antonia was thrown up by the Vth Legion opposite to the middle of the reservoir called Struthios, and the other by the XIIth Legion at the distance of about twenty cubits. The Xth Legion, which was considerably apart from these, was occupied on the northern quarter by the reservoir designated Amygdalon and about thirty cubits from thence the XVth Legion at the High Priest's Monument," that is, John's Monument. "At" before "High Priest," is *kata,* κατα (V. xi. 4).

These two mounds, those made by the Xth and XVth Legions, were afterwards destroyed and the attack at that point was abandoned (V. xi. 6).

The Monument of the High Priest John is again mentioned in an affair which took place after both the Second Wall and Antonia had been taken, and the Romans were trying to take the Inner Temple, which had a strong wall of its own:—

"A certain Jew advancing by the Monument of the High Priest John, and addressing to the Romans much insulting language, challenged the best of them to single combat." This man, after a little, was shot by an arrow (VI. ii. 10).

After the Romans had captured the Second Wall they were masters of all between it and the Third Wall, although they did not kill or drive out all the inhabitants or destroy all the houses.

In moving forward upon their own territory their new base of operations, they use, as has been shown, the Monument of John as a landmark (V. xi. 4). As this monument was not south of the Third Wall, it is certain that it stood between the Third Wall and the

Second Wall. ("Third" and "Second" are used here as the walls were counted in the siege.)

This fact as to its location might have been stated at the outset, and would have been, but for the assertion of some writers that it was on or near the line of the First Wall which Titus captured, i.e. Agrippa's Wall.

It is perfectly evident that in every instance where this monument is mentioned it is used simply as a landmark which everybody would readily recognize.

Summary of evidence as to its location

(1) It is certain that the monument in question was not north of the First Wall—counting them as they were counted during the siege.

(2) It is certain that it was not on the line of the First Wall, otherwise, after that wall was taken it would be in the rear of the Romans and no more would have been said about it.

(3) So far as the Romans are concerned, nothing is said about this monument in connection with the Second Wall, and it must be remembered that Titus' plan of attack and the direction of it had not changed.

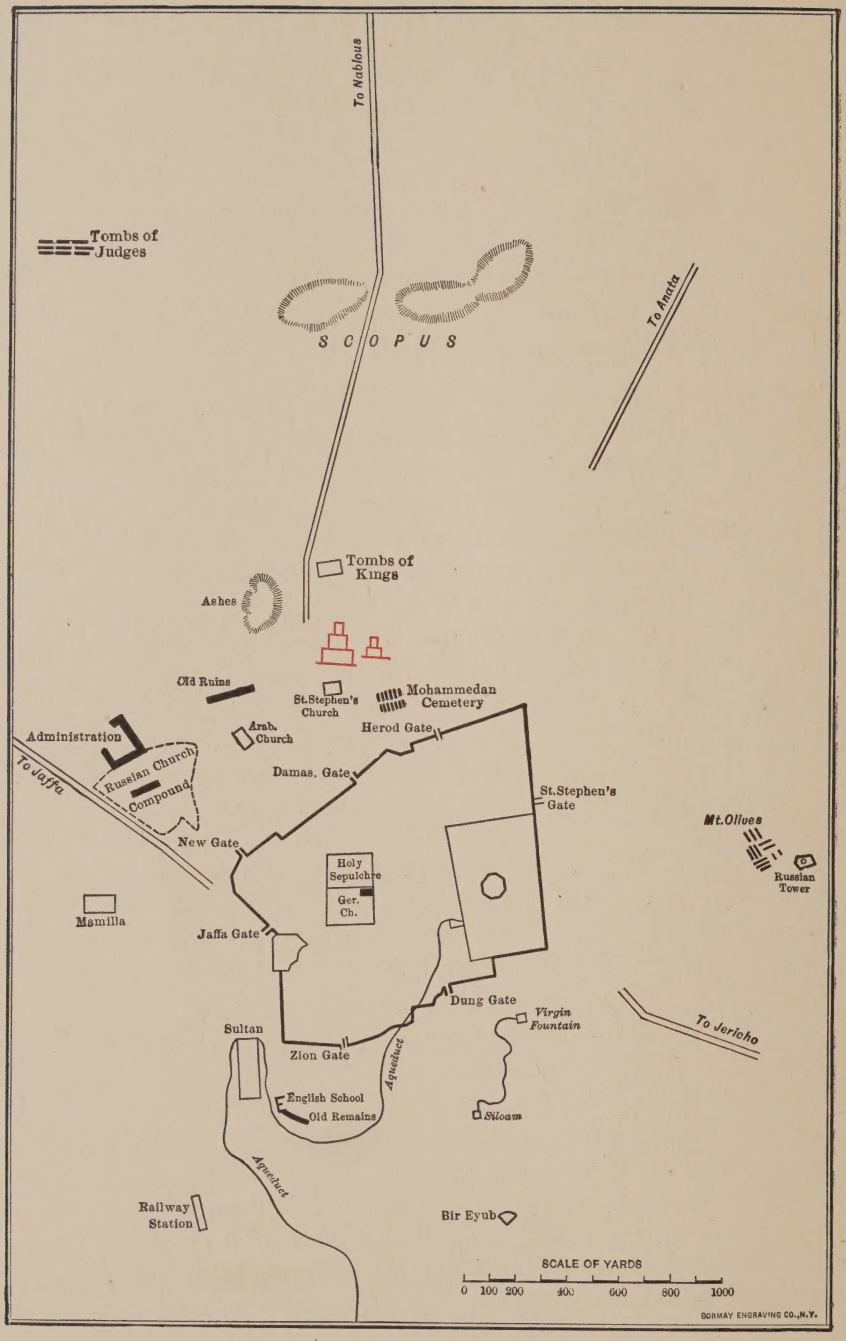
(4) It is certain that this monument was not between the First and Second Walls, and hence was not in the New Town.

(5) After both the First and Second Walls were taken, this monument is still a landmark and a point of departure for the attack on the Third Wall, which guarded the Upper City. Therefore,—

(6) Although mentioned in connection with the defenders of the Second Wall, it was to the south of it, and therefore,—

(7) Its position was south of the Second Wall and between it and the Third Wall; in other words, it was in the heart of the Lower City.

The various data as to the position of this monument confirm the rendering given to the word *kata*, κατα, in Titus' plan of attack upon the First Wall, namely, "down by the Monument of John." (See Chapter III.)



THE MONUMENTS OF KING ALEXANDER

CHAPTER XVIII

MONUMENTS OF KING ALEXANDER

Relation to Second Wall—Suburbs of Jerusalem Adorned with Monuments and Gardens

Monuments of King Alexander

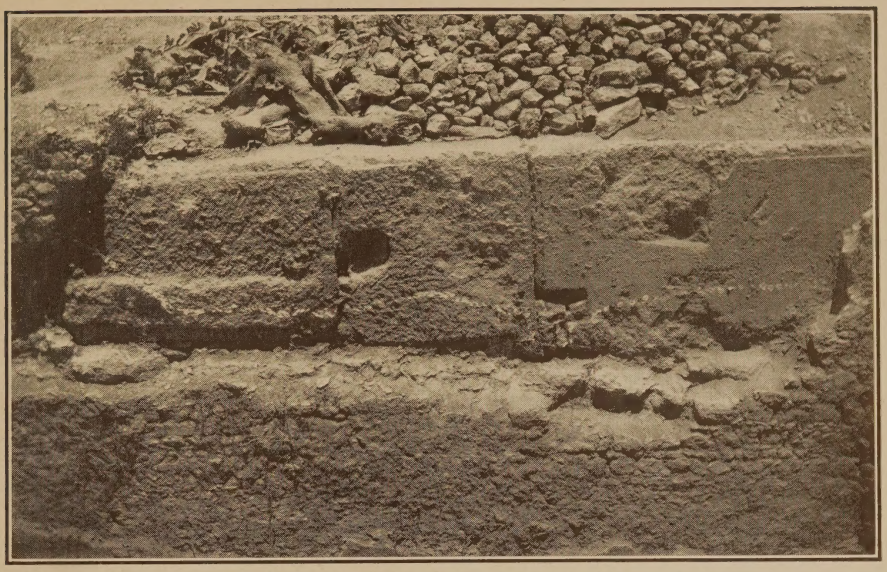
THE deeds, death, and burial of King Alexander are described at some length in *Antiquities,* XIII. xv. 5; xvi. 1, but nothing is said about his monuments, and in the *Wars* these are mentioned but once (V. vii. 3). In the Greek the plural is used, indicating that there was more than one memorial stone or pile, and probably as in the case of Helena's Monuments at Jerusalem and the Maccabean family tombs at Modin, the place dedicated to the memory of King Alexander may have been marked by two, three, or more pyramids, supposing such to be the form in which the memorials were constructed.

In the time of the siege these monuments formed a well-known landmark. They are mentioned as such in the defence of the Second Wall: "John and his party fought from the Antonia, from the north colonnade of the Temple, and in front of the Monuments of King Alexander" (V. vii. 3). The Greek word for "in front of" is *pro,* προ, which also means "before"; but neither of these meanings enables us to decide whether the soldiers faced the monuments or whether they stood with their backs to them. The latter would be the natural position in case the soldiers were defending the monuments; but there is here no question of defence. Still, if they stood with their backs to the monuments they must have been situated inside or south of the Second Wall; whereas if they stood facing the monuments they must have been situated north of the Second Wall. Being mentioned in connection with John they must

have some obvious relation to the part of the city which he controlled, just as the Monument of the High Priest John had a very close relation to the part of the city which Simon controlled. The very great difficulty of finding a place for these monuments in case the soldiers stood with their backs to them leads to the probable if not the inevitable conclusion that they faced them, and that they stood at some distance to the north of the Second Wall at the point where in our judgment, as indicated on the Plan, they should be located.

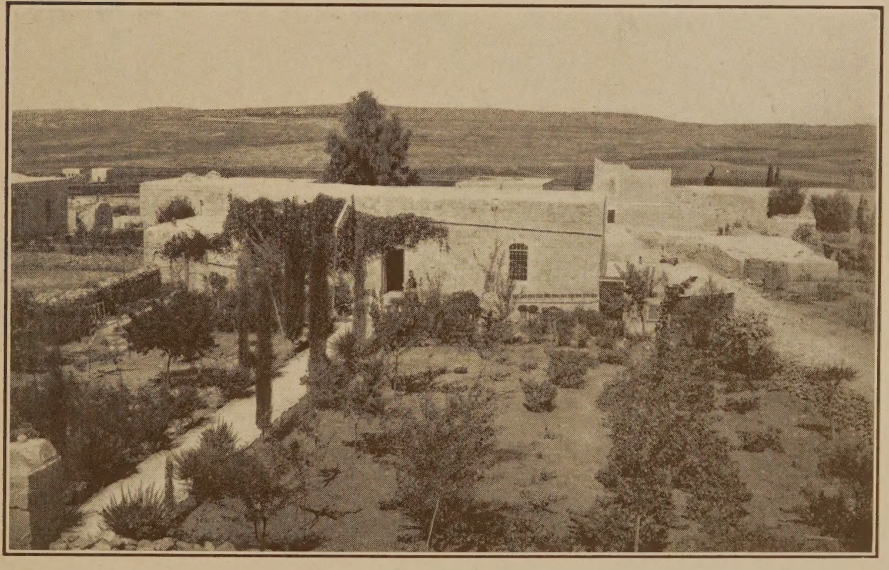
This point should be about half-way between the Tombs of the Kings and the present Damascus Gate. Here are massive blocks which have served as the foundations of some important structure or structures. Possibly they are not separate blocks; but the native rock existing here may have been cut into the desired shape. The photograph shows the present condition of these remains, but formerly there was a vast right angle which is now obliterated by rubbish and stones. Formerly also, one side of the remains appeared like the body and one arm of a great Greek cross, showing a projection for some purpose. Hitherto there has been no satisfactory explanation of these remains; but they are located precisely where we should expect the Monuments of King Alexander to have stood, and we feel justified in considering them as the foundations of these Royal memorials. In connection with this subject Chapter IV. should be read.

The Monuments of Helena were three in number and pyramid-shaped. They are mentioned three or more times and the plural is always used. Helena was a queen in her own distant country; but no Jew would apply to her or to her burial place language by which he designated his own national sovereigns while living or their tombs when they were dead. To illustrate the fact that the Jews erected more than one pyramid or structure when it was thought that the person deserved special notice, reference may be made to Modin, the



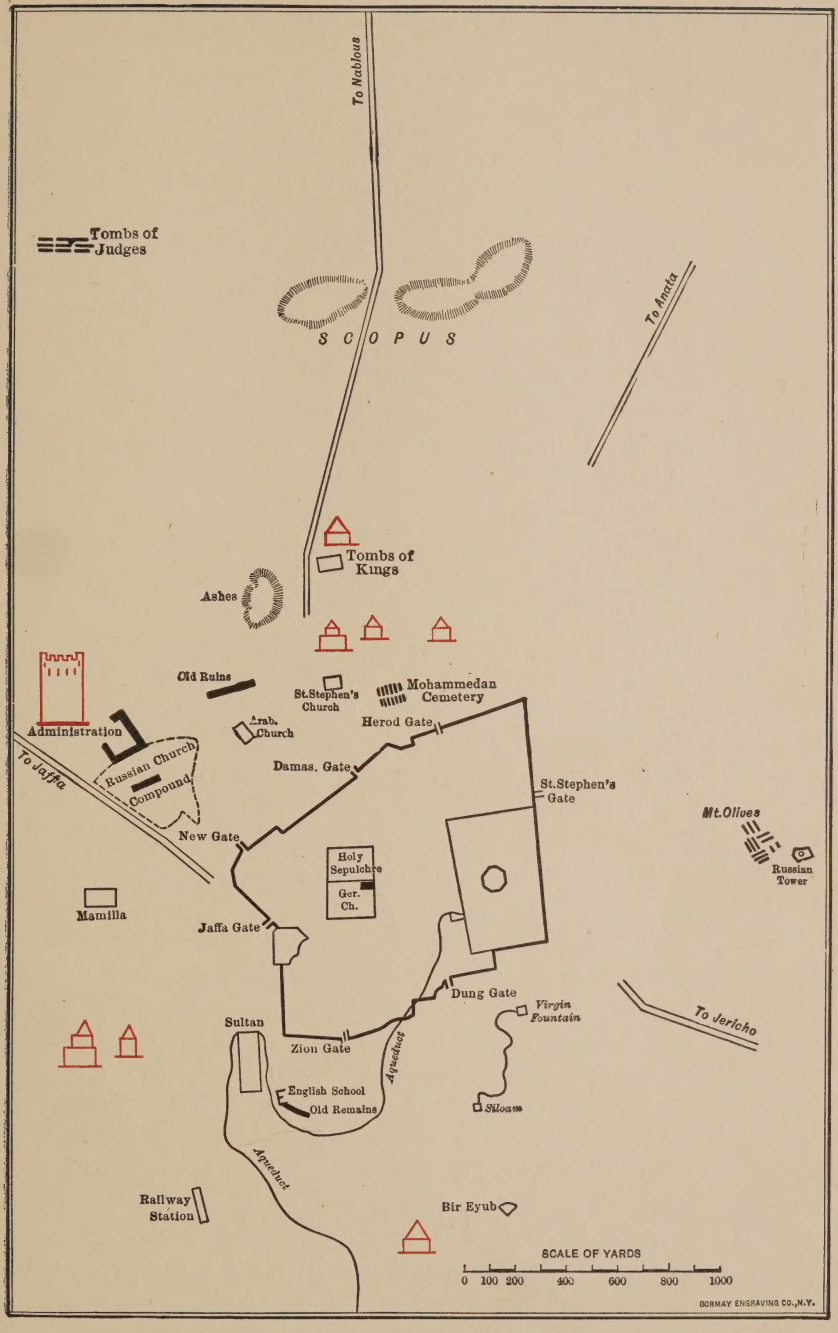
MASSIVE STONES NEAR THE DAMASCUS ROAD

North of the Dominican structures, which were the foundation of the Monuments of King Alexander.



A MODERN HOUSE NEAR JERUSALEM

Illustrating the gardens, fruit trees, and villas by which the city was surrounded on all sides but one, when Titus approached with his army.



The pyramid to the north represents the Monuments of Helena; the two to the south those of King Alexander; the one to the right is the Fuller's Monument; that of the High Priest Ananus is in the foreground, and those of Herod the Great in the southwest. John's Monument stood in the middle of the city and is not here represented. See Chapter XVII.

burial place of some of the distinguished members of the Maccabean family, where the memorials were seven in number. They were erected by Simon the Maccabee, and appear to have been mounted on a vast platform which was surrounded by columns forming a portico—altogether an imposing object and visible from a great distance.

The Monument of the High Priest John is mentioned several times and is always spoken of in the singular. Probably there was but a single pyramid. As High Priest, John received the honor which his position merited; but the Jews neither considered him nor spoke of him as a royal personage.

Suburbs of Jerusalem ornamented

The suburbs of Jerusalem, as they appeared before the advent of the modern tiled-roof houses which one sees everywhere to-day, would not suggest even the possibility of their ever having been regarded as attractive, much less beautiful. It is not difficult to jump to the conclusion that in ancient times the environs of Jerusalem showed the same rocky desolation as now. But there is evidence which may compel us to reverse this hasty judgment, at least to convince us that the wealthy people of Herod's time had a sufficient amount of taste to enable them to appreciate a fertile and cultivated landscape.

Just before the Romans made their final attack upon the Tower of Antonia, at a time when the siege was not half over, Josephus utters a plaint over the ruin that had been wrought around Jerusalem by the invading army within only a short space of time. In a few lines of pathetic eloquence he contrasts the desolation which he beheld with the beauty which had been familiar to his eyes since his earliest childhood. He says: "Melancholy indeed was the aspect of the country around Jerusalem; places formerly ornamented with trees and pleasure grounds now lying utterly desert, with all the timber felled. Nor could a stranger, who had seen

Judea as she once was, and the enchanting suburbs of her capital, and beheld her present desolation, have refrained from tears or suppressed a sigh at the greatness of the change. For the war had obliterated every trace of beauty; and had any one acquainted with the spot in other days come suddenly upon it, he could not have recognized it, but, though beside it, would still have inquired for the city" (VI. i. 1).

A hint of the character of the suburbs is in "the hedges, gardens, and cultivated fields" which Titus encountered near the walls northwest of the city when he first approached it from the north (V. ii. 2).

Again, when in this same region he made the military road by which to move his camp from Scopus to convenient points near the city, his army had to "cut down and destroy hedges, gardens, orchards, and ornamental shade trees which were in his way" (V. iii. 2).

Psephinus an object of pride

Among the attractions of the city and suburbs was the lofty Tower Psephinus, built for the magnificent view which it commanded over the entire country, and in which the inhabitants took an especial pride. (See in Chapter V. the Russian Administration Building which occupies its site.)

Public monuments

In the suburbs there were also various monuments erected as memorials of the names and deeds of eminent personages, some of which were set up by the persons themselves as was the custom of those times, and some were erected by the nation. Thus on the south of the city there was the Monument of the High Priest Ananus (V. xii. 2). It stood on the brow of the hill just south of the valley of Hinnom, on the line followed by the Wall of Circumvallation in its course from a point between the Pool of Siloam and Bir Eyub, due west toward the present German colony.

North of the city were the famous Monuments of Helena, queen of Adiabene and mother of King Izates.

The pyramids erected over the tombs to mark the spot and make the place attractive have disappeared, but the tombs themselves, carved with great skill in the solid rock, still exist and are objects of constant admiration (V. ii. 2; iv. 2; *Antiq.*, XX. iv. 3).

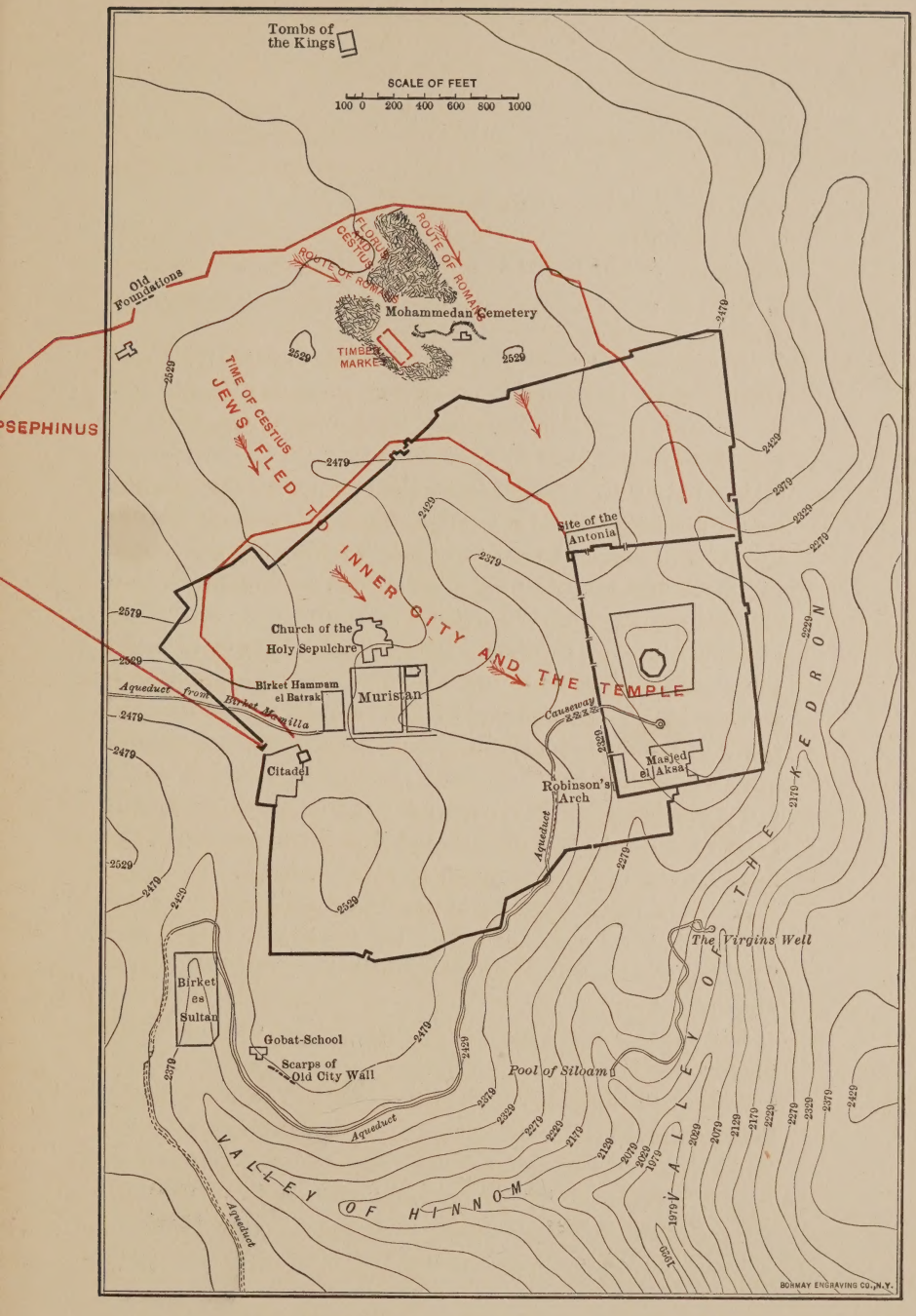
The Monuments of Herod, elaborate, costly, and covering an area of unusual extent, if we may judge by the ground devoted to the purpose, formed a conspicuous landmark southwest of the city (V. iii. 2; xii. 2).

Northwest of the "ridge" of Bezetha, on the level and fertile land in that region, where space was ample, are to be placed the Monuments of King Alexander (V. vii. 3).

In this class of national memorials, the Monument (always in the singular) of the High Priest John is very important; but as it was situated within the city it cannot properly be mentioned when the ornamentation of the suburbs is being considered.

With taste, and a desire on the part of the people for such public memorials, it does not seem probable that they limited themselves to the five now mentioned; there may have been others of which no record has been preserved.

The Monument of the Fuller (V. iv. 2) was located near the Corner Tower where Agrippa's Wall turned from facing north to facing east. Whether it stood inside or outside Agrippa's Wall is not known.



ROUTE OF RETREATING JEWS ON TWO DIFFERENT OCCASIONS, AND BURNT PORTION OF THE NEW CITY

CHAPTER XIX

THE NEW CITY PARTLY BURNED

Cestius and Titus—Timber Market—The Ridge Called Bezetha

New City partly burned

In connection with Florus, Cestius, and Titus, there are hints as to the relation of the First Wall, Bezetha or the New City, Antonia, and the Lower City.

The Jews went out in good faith to salute some Roman troops that were coming from Cesarea to Jerusalem, but by orders of Florus they were attacked and driven into the city. It is said that "the crush about the gates was dreadful and many Jews were killed." The gates here referred to were in the First Wall, and the word is in the plural. The soldiers chased the multitude through the Bezetha, hoping to get ahead of them and take possession of the Antonia and of the Temple. They reached the Antonia, where there were already Roman troops, but did not go beyond. The ground in Bezetha could not have been thickly covered with houses, for had it been so a multitude of pursued and pursuers could not have moved rapidly through it (II. xv. 5, 6).

A little later Cestius approached the city with his army, the good order of which terrified the Jews so that "they abandoned the suburbs and retired into the Inner City and the Temple."

"Suburbs" here means Bezetha, and "Inner City" means the Lower City. Cestius had no trouble in passing through the gates of the First Wall. The Jews retired before him, and he did not have to drive them as Florus had done. He therefore had time to destroy what he could in the New City. Hence, "on entering he set fire to Bezetha, the Cænopolis, and the Timber Market." (Sometimes Josephus divides the New City into two,

sometimes into three sections.) He went then to the Upper City (II. xix. 4), and "camped opposite the royal residence"—that is, Herod's Palace.

Roman soldiers in Jerusalem

The last we knew of Herod's Palace, the Three Towers, and the Upper City, was that they were in possession of the insurgents, and that the Roman troops had been massacred after laying down their arms (II. xvii. 10); and it is a surprise to find Cestius entering the city or daring to move about in it in any direction. Previous to the massacre just referred to the same may be said of Florus and his movements (II. xv. 5). The explanation is that war had not been declared between Judea and Rome, Jerusalem was a Roman city, there was in it a strong peace party, and these with the Romans were trying to allay the excitement of the multitude. The Greek *pros*, προς, and *antikru*, αντικρυ, do not compel us to believe that Cestius was actually inside the wall of the Upper City and camped outside the wall of Herod's Palace; but the fact that soon after he was "on the north side of the Temple"—namely, the Inner Temple—makes it probable that he could move about the city, and that the camp mentioned was in the broad open space around the palace.

A short time previous Florus had tried to go from the Upper City with his troops to aid those who were hard pressed in the Antonia, and he went through the town. The people from the roofs checked his advance by throwing down upon his men all sorts of missiles, and blocked the streets so that he could not accomplish his purpose. Neither Florus nor Cestius could have done what they did had war actually broken out and Jerusalem been in a state of actual siege. These events were early in A.D. 66.

Titus' connection with Bezetha was that after he had taken the First Wall "he threw down a great part of it and the northern part of the New City which Cestius had formerly demolished" (V. vii. 2).

Timber Market

The Timber Market was situated on the level open ground north of Jerusalem, and when Agrippa built the Third Wall it became a feature of the New City.

A large amount of lumber was used in those days, a fact impossible to be realized by one familiar with Jerusalem in recent times; and this market was near the road leading to the city from the seaport Cesarea, whence much of the lumber would be brought.

The New City

The New City was a suburb on the north of Jerusalem. The land in that region was generally level and suitable for dwellings and gardens. During years of peace and prosperity it had gradually been covered with houses.

The New City embraced all the space between the Second and Third Walls. Titus' Camp No. 2 was in the New City, and in making the Wall of Circumvallation he drew the line from where he was to the Lower New City—the part that lay *"farther downwards"* toward the east (V. xii. 2). This corresponds perfectly to the contour of the ground in that region. The portion immediately about the Hill Bezetha seems to have been the latest to be occupied by dwellings (V. iv. 2).

The Third Wall on the north of the New City had at least two gates, and the distance from these gates to the Antonia was considerable if we estimate it by the size of the city itself (II. xv. 5; xix. 4; V. vii. 2). Here were situated the Timber Market, the Wool Market, and the Braziers' Shops (V. viii. 1).

The name Bezetha, meaning "New City," was generally applied to the hill north of Antonia. "It was joined on to part of the New City, was the highest of the hills (the Temple, Antonia, and Bezetha), and was to a person coming from the north the only obstruction to a view of the Temple" (V. v. 8). It was artificially separated from the Antonia (V. iv. 2; v. 8).

In the phrase, "It lay over against the Antonia" (V. iv. 2), we have the frequently recurring Greek word,

antikru, *αντικρυ*, remarkable for leaving things indefinite.

Bezetha is described and still spoken of as a "hill"; but the word rendered "hill" means "ridge," and this exactly describes the hill north of Antonia, that part now within the city and that extending northwards to Calvary or the part directly over Jeremiah's Grotto. "Ridge," *lophos*, *λοφος*, is used four times (V. iv. 2; v. 8).

CHAPTER XX

METHODS OF SIEGE

Engines of War—Mounds, Towers, the Ram, Stone-Throwing Machine

Methods and engines in the siege

FROM the account of different sieges we obtain a pretty good idea of the methods employed, and of the various engines and weapons that were used in them.

Mounds

Very much is said of Mounds; and we might think of them as piles of earth and stones forming conical hills, larger or smaller as the case might require.

Possibly in some instances they assumed this shape; but in general they were long embankment-like structures, more like ridges, at right angles to the wall of the city. Men began a pile of earth and extended it towards the wall till near enough for their purpose. This is clear from a phrase in the account of the siege of Jotapata—"as the mounds were now approaching the ramparts" (III. vii. 19).

In the case of the attack on the First Wall of Jerusalem, after work had been carried on for some time, the distance from the mounds to the wall was measured with lead and line to see if they were sufficiently near to begin active operations. This shows that the mounds had been growing from a more remote to a nearer point (V. vi. 4).

The mounds were made of earth, stones, and a great quantity of timber (III. vii. 8; V. vi. 2). Their size and height depended of course upon the height of the wall they were to be used against, and something upon the nature of the ground where they were built. This last circumstance required that in some cases mounds "of immense magnitude" should be constructed (V. xi. 4).

Their general object was to elevate the soldiers so that they could operate more easily against those that guarded the walls (III. vii. 8, 19, 30; V. vii. 2).

Sometimes the mounds were demolished by undermining from within the walls, by those besieged, as in the case of the first two erected at Antonia; and sometimes they were destroyed by fire (V. xi. 4, 5, 6). When they were destroyed by the enemy it was looked upon as a real calamity, considering what they had cost in material and labor.

Towers

The next feature of the same general purpose as the mounds, was the Towers. They were constructed of beams and wood, and hence could be destroyed by fire. They were sometimes covered with iron plates so that they could not be so readily set on fire, and likewise to make them heavier so that they could not be so easily overturned. They were placed on the top of the mounds to elevate the soldiers still more. They were for archers, slingers, and light-armed men; and in regard to such troops, those who were highest, whether on the walls or towers, had the advantage (III. vii. 30; V. vii. 1, 2). Sometimes the towers fell, owing to careless construction, and sometimes the enemy succeeded in destroying them by fire (V. vii. 1). The Jews on the walls suffered greatly from the archers, slingers, and other light-armed men on the towers. The Romans were so high that the Jews could not reach them with their weapons, and they had to retire or crouch behind their battlements (V. vii. 2, 4).

The Ram

The formidable engine, the Ram, is fully described in the following: "an immense beam, like the mast of a ship;" "the mass of iron forged in shape of a ram's head;" "balanced like a rod, by means of ropes suspended from great beams standing astride above it."

It was drawn back and forth by a number of men, and its repeated blows crumbled the blocks of stone in

the walls, so that they could be worked out with crowbars and the walls or towers undermined (III. vii. 19; V. vii. 2; xi. 5). The men who worked them were protected by hurdles, green hides stretched over poles; they were likewise defended by the archers from the towers (III. vii. 19, 23; V. vi. 4; vii. 4; xi. 5). Hurdles were also used to protect the men engaged in constructing the mounds. Sometimes the rams were burned by parties of the besieged sallying out with firebrands (V. xi. 5).

That the ram and the archers worked together is shown further by the order of Titus, where in one case the Jews wanted to parley with him and he "stopped the playing of the ram and forbade the archers to shoot at the suppliants" (V. vii. 4). The ram always stood on the ground; the mounds were for other purposes (V. vi. 4; vii. 2, 4). This is true also of all the other heavy engines, namely, the *krios*, κριος, and the one called the city-destroying engine, *helepolis*, ἑλεπολις; they were not placed on the mounds (V. xi. 5).

Stone-throwing machine

The engines for throwing stones were formidable in their execution, and it is no wonder that the Jews were afraid of them. "Channels were opened by them through dense files of men." "The stones thrown were of a talent weight." "They carried away the battlements and broke off the corners of towers, and no body of troops was so firm as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the violence and magnitude of the stones" (III. vii. 9, 23). An instance is mentioned where a man was hit in the head by one of these stones, and his skull thrown to a distance of three furlongs. This relates to Galilee, when Josephus himself was behind the walls. However, in the siege of Jerusalem he repeats practically the same statements: "The stones thrown were of a talent weight and had a range of two furlongs and more. The shock, not only to such as first met it but even to those beyond them for a considerable distance, was irresistible" (V. vi. 3).

In the case of the wall of the Inner Temple (VI. iv. 1), both the "ram" and the "city-destroying engines" were used; the walls are described as being of great strength. Besides these two weapons,—the heavy artillery of the time,—five other weapons are mentioned in a single chapter, where their relative positions in the siege and uses are pointed out (V. vi. 2).

CHAPTER XXI

HELENA OF ADIABENE

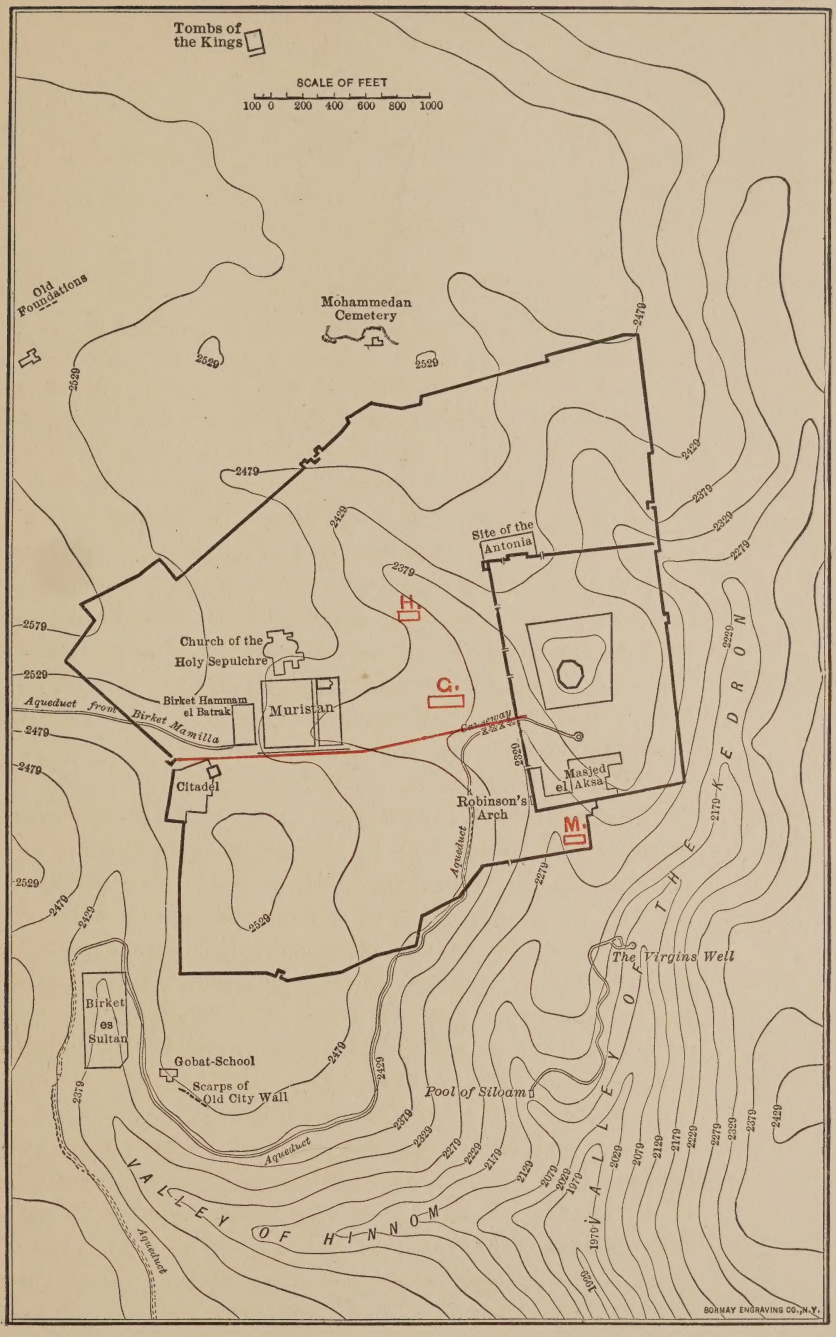
The Family and Their Palaces Located

Helena of Adiabene and her family

THE position of this family was in some respects a peculiar one. They belonged in Adiabene; and Helena, Izates her son, and probably other members of this unusually large family, had become proselytes to Judaism. Helena was the wife of a king and the mother of two kings, Izates and Monobazus, the latter having the same name as his father. She, together with a number of her family and relatives, removed to Jerusalem, where, during the famine of A.D. 44 (Acts xi. 28), by her liberal means she was of great service in providing food for the inhabitants. By this act she greatly endeared herself to the Jews (*Antiq.*, XX. ii. 5).

When the siege came on half the population of the city would be living witnesses of her former kindness, and although not much is said about it in the history of the war, the few references we have indicate that the family was held in the highest esteem. They do not seem to have been extreme partisans. No special acts of violence were done to them, although the brigand tyrants did not scruple at any deeds of cruelty. The exception to this statement is that the revolutionists seized one of their palaces, and in another they slaughtered at one time 8,000 innocent people.

After the Temple was taken and just before the siege of the Upper City, it is said that the "sons and brothers of King Izates" asked Titus to spare their lives and grant them protection (VI. vi. 4). Their ground for such a request may have been that they had been unwilling combatants—really a foreign family. When



PALACES OF HELENA, GRAPTE, AND MONOBAZUS

Cestius, in A.D. 66, after a severe fight north of Jerusalem drove the Jews back into the city, it is mentioned that "two distinguished men, relatives of Monobazus, king of Adiabene, named Monobazus and Cenedus, lost their lives" (II. xix. 2).

Their palaces

The matter of special interest connected with this family is that three palaces belonging to them are mentioned, two of which are important landmarks. The Monuments of Helena near Agrippa's Wall, north of the city, are as a landmark described elsewhere. (See Chapter XVIII.)

Palace of Monobazus

When hostilities began the city was divided between the forces of John and Simon. Simon held all of Agrippa's Wall with as much of the "Old Wall as bending eastward above Siloam descended to the Palace of Monobazus, king of Adiabene." This was at the time a well-known landmark and must be located somewhere on the line of the south wall of the city, probably on the east side near the angle east of the present Dung Gate.

Palace of Grapte

This palace was very spacious and could hold a great number of people. The tyrant John had seized it and made it his headquarters. His treasure was there, including also the spoils which he had taken from the citizens during the reign of terror which he was so prominent in creating. The Idumean portion of his followers rebelled and, attacking him, chased him from this palace into the Temple, when they proceeded to plunder his treasures (IV. ix. 11).

Grapte's Palace was therefore within easy reach of the Temple; and as there was no room for houses below,—that is, south of the Causeway,—the palace was north of that point. In all the many conflicts between the factions in Jerusalem nothing is ever said about their using either the bridge or the Causeway, as they chased each other back and forth between the city and

the Temple: on the contrary, this is always described as up-and-down work—those in the Temple were higher, while those in the city were lower—and they must go up or down when they attacked each other.

The Palace of Grapte stood therefore on the extreme east side of the Lower City, north of the Causeway, and near the great flight of steps which led up to the Temple area. (For these steps or "stairs," see Illustration in Chapter XL.)

Palace of Helena

The Palace of Helena was in the territory controlled by Simon. It was in the Lower City, "in the centre of the Acra," considerably farther north than the Palace of Grapte, was near the eastern border of Simon's district, and is to be located considerably to the east of the Holy Sepulchre and not far from where the Serai or Government House now stands.

It was a strong building, very spacious, was regarded as a place of safety, and in the terrible days just before the Upper City was besieged over 8,000 of the wretched and terrified inhabitants fled thither for refuge and were all massacred by the insurgents—the pretended defenders of Jerusalem (V. vi. 1; vi. 3; vii. 1).

CHAPTER XXII

THE WALL OF CIRCUMVALLATION

Romans Found It to be a Necessity—Topographical Details

Wall of Circumvallation

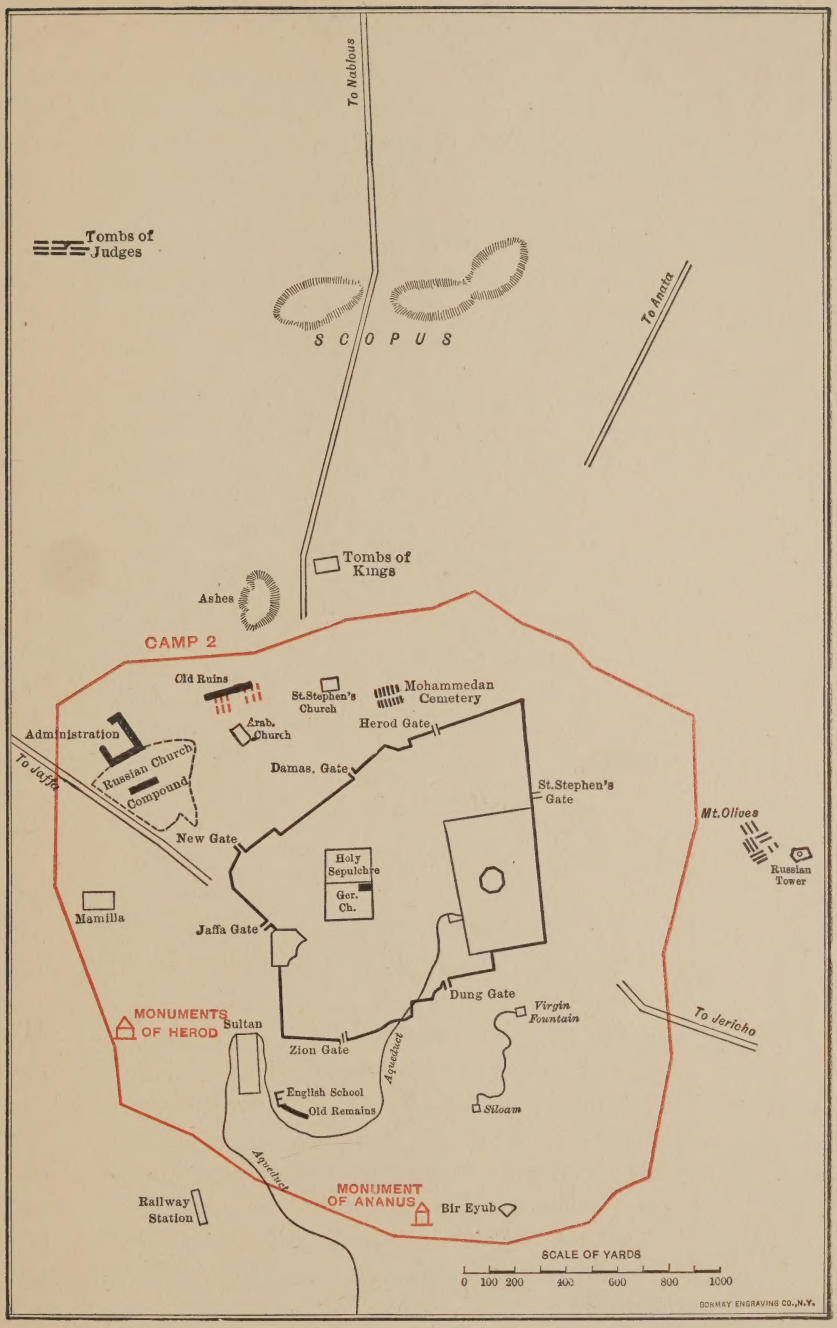
ALTHOUGH the Romans had such a number of troops they did not guard the gates and other approaches to the city as would be done in modern times or as we should have expected. On the part of the besieged there was a great deal of passing in and out, and not infrequently armed bands would rush out of the gates and attack the Romans, sometimes doing much injury.

This was true during all the time of the siege of the First and Second Walls. After these walls were taken Titus realized that this must be corrected; and while the mounds were building at Antonia and at John's Monument for the attack on the Temple and the Upper City (V. ix. 2), "Titus sent out a detachment of horse to lie in ambush for those who went out through the ravines in quest of food" (V. xi. 1).

Titus, in advising with his officers as to the necessity for a wall of circumvallation, says: "We can guard the open approaches, but the Jews through necessity and knowledge of the localities would discover hidden paths, and should provisions clandestinely be introduced the siege would be still farther protracted" (V. xii. 1).

After the Wall of Circumvallation was completed, "all egress was cut off" (V. xii. 3). "It was no longer possible to gather herbs" (V. xiii. 7).

Some of the Jews "solicited permission to pass through the line of circumvallation with their wives and children and retire to the desert." This was refused, for which refusal Titus had the best of reasons (VI. vi. 3).



WALL OF CIRCUMVALLATION

This is laid down according to the author's best judgment, and its length is 41 furlongs. Josephus states that its length was 39 furlongs, which is about 1200 feet less than as here given.

When the Upper City was besieged, some Jews "fled to the ravines below Siloam." "They furiously assailed the barrier (Wall of Circumvallation) in that quarter, but were repulsed by the guards and dispersed" (VI. viii. 5).

The "ravines" were those on the south of the city, and the one most used was the one now known as the Tyropean valley, although the reference in the last paragraph is to the valley of Hinnom.

Its course and description

"Commencing at the Camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched (this was Titus' Camp No. 2), he drew the wall to the Lower Cænopolis and thence through the Kedron to the Mount of Olives. Then bending back towards the south he encompassed the Mount as far as the rock Peristereon and the adjoining hill which overhangs the ravine near Siloam. Thence inclining toward the west he went down into the Valley of the Fountain beyond which he ascended by the Monument of the High Priest Ananus, and taking in the mount where Pompey camped, turned to the north, proceeding as far as a hamlet called 'The House of Erebinths,' passing which he enclosed Herod's Monument and on the east once more united it to his own camp at the point whence it commenced." "The wall was forty furlongs wanting one. Attached to it on the outside were thirteen forts whose united circumferences measured ten furlongs. The whole was completed in three days" (V. xii. 2).

In the building of this wall several important topographical points are mentioned.

"Through the Kedron," *dia,* διᾳ, means through and across.

Koomee, κωμη, is rendered "hamlet," but should be given its usual sense of *village.*

"House of Erebinths," *pulse, chick-pea,* could hardly have been a new name and may have been of Hebrew origin.

The meaning of *peristereoonos*, περιστερεων-ωνος, is *dovecote*. Some high, projecting, prominent rock in that region bore this name, which has disappeared, as no such rock exists at present near the place indicated.

See Chapter XII. for "Camp of the Assyrians."

See the Plan for the length of this wall.

CHAPTER XXIII

EXTENSIVE USE OF WOOD IN BUILDING

Use of wood in building

ONE of the rarest things in Jerusalem is to have a building consumed by fire. During the past twenty-five years perhaps three small sheds have been burned and as many medium-sized houses. One of these had only its interior destroyed and another the interior and the roof in addition. The insurance of buildings against fire never has been necessary. Matters are a little different now, since more wood is used for floors than formerly and the modern tile-roofed houses require rafters for their support.

The condition of things must have been quite different in the first century of our era, for the many destructive conflagrations recorded show that a great deal of wood was then used in the construction of houses.

Many conflagrations

In the time of Florus, early in A.D. 66, during the bitter civil strife that was going on in the city, the insurgents resorted to terrible acts of violence and bloodshed and among other deeds "they burned the house of Ananias the High Priest, the Palace of Agrippa and Bernice, the building which contained the public archives, so that all contracts and records of debts and obligations were destroyed." A day or two subsequent to this they seized the Antonia, massacred the garrison, and set the castle on fire (II. xvii. 6, 7). At a later time Josephus, referring to these events, states that "the conflagration began at the Antonia, passed onward to the palace, and consumed the roofs of the three towers." The palace was that of Herod the Great, and the three towers were Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne (V. iv. 3, 4). The

house of the High Priest and the Palace of Agrippa and Bernice were in the Upper City.

Later in the same year when Cestius approached the city, the Jews having fled from the outer defences, he entered the Third Wall, and the houses lying between it and the Second Wall, in Bezetha or New City, were burned, as was also the Timber Market situated in the same region (II. xix. 4). In connection with the Timber Market may be noticed the large amount of wood and timber collected on the Temple area, which John used for defensive purposes (V. i. 5).

In B.C. 4, after the death of Herod the Great, when Sabinus was sent to Jerusalem to manage affairs, there was a great struggle between the Romans and the Jews in the Temple itself. "The Romans set fire to the colonnades, work admirable for amplitude and magnificence," and a large number of Jews perished in the flames (II. iii. 3). The colonnades burned on this occasion are not further described. This was seventy years before the burning under Florus, as already mentioned.

Burning of storehouses

The border section between the Temple area and the Lower City was fought over and burned alternately by John and Simon. "However far into the city John drove the enemy before him, throughout that whole extent he set fire to the storehouses which were filled with corn and provisions of every kind; and the same again on John's retreat Simon did, when pursuing him, as if designedly serving the Romans by destroying what the city had provided against a siege, and severing the sinews of their own strength. The result accordingly was that all around the Temple was burned down, and the city became the alternate seat of solitude and battle; and that almost the whole of the corn which might have sufficed the besieged for many years was consumed. They were accordingly reduced to famine, which would hardly have been possible had they not previously prepared it for themselves" (V. i. 4). Elsewhere Josephus

says: "When they had reduced all that lay between these (that is, the boundary limits of John and Simon) to ashes, a place was cleared for their mutual conflicts" (V. vi. 1).

Work of fire during the siege

During the progress of the siege, and especially as it drew to its close, a great deal of burning is recorded.

After the Antonia was captured the two colonnades which connected it with the Temple, and by which the soldiers could rush in unharmed to quell disturbances, were burned (VI. ii. 9).

Both the northern and the western colonnades of the Temple area were burned. The northern was destroyed by the Romans and the western by the Jews. In the burning of the latter many Roman soldiers lost their lives. Under the roofs of the colonnade or between the ceilings and floor, the Jews had placed a quantity of combustible material, dry wood, bitumen, and pitch, and then retired. The Romans, thinking to gain some advantage over the enemy, mounted the galleries, which were immediately set on fire, and they could not escape (VI. iii. 1, 2).

The gates of the Temple were set on fire by order of Titus, and the flames soon reached the galleries in detached places, causing great consternation amongst the Jews. The burning of the gates and the woodwork about them is described as causing intense heat (VI. iv. 1, 2).

The Temple itself was burned (VI. iv. 5, 6, 7). The sight and noise of the conflagration were appalling. Fire was set to the surrounding buildings; the remains of the colonnades, the gates, the treasure chambers, and all were consumed (VI. v. 2).

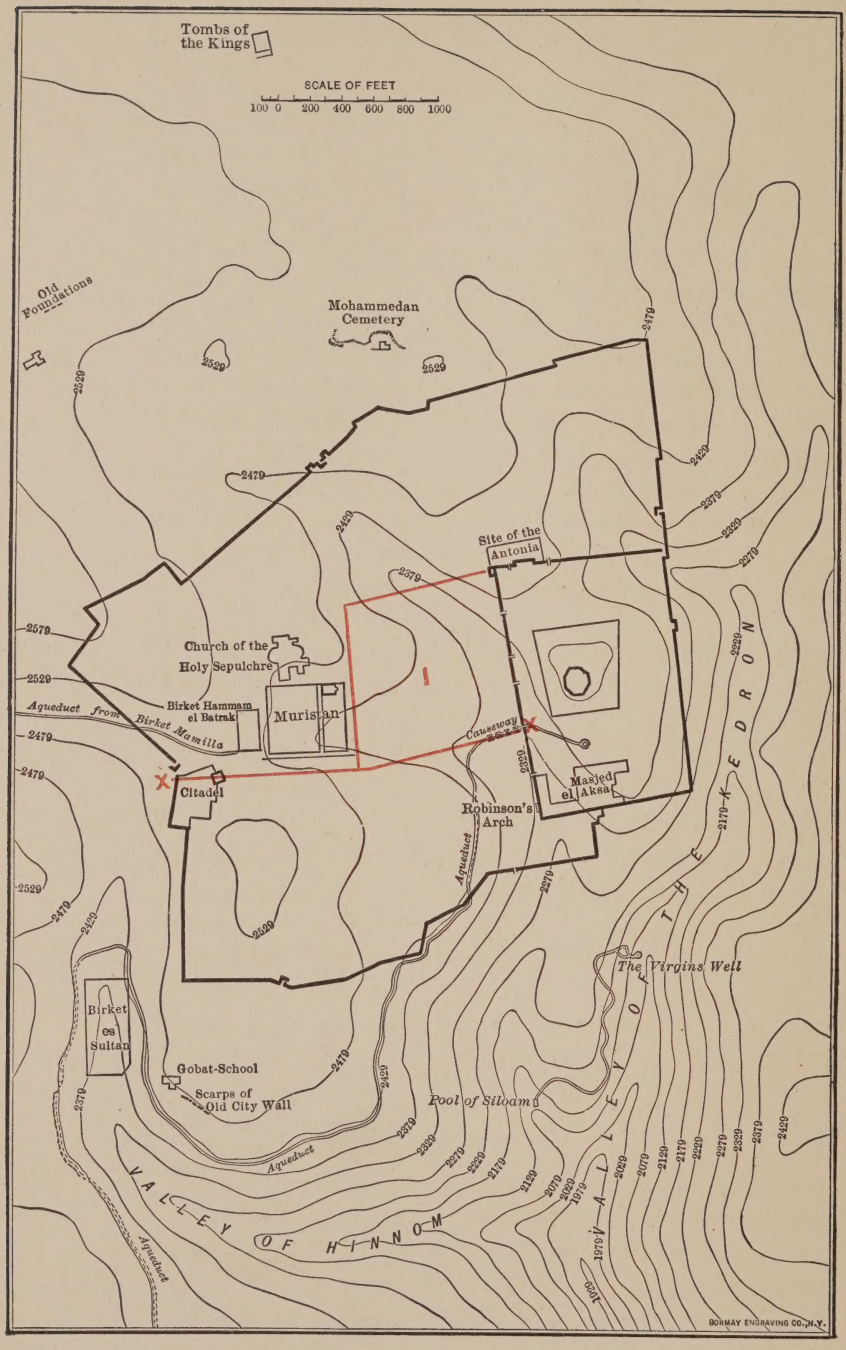
The Romans then went to the "remaining colonnade of the outer court of the Temple, on which the women and children of the populace had taken refuge, with a vast promiscuous multitude amounting to 6,000 souls." The colonnade was set on fire and none escaped (VI. v.

2). The western and northern colonnades of the Temple area had already been destroyed (VI. iii. 1, 2).

The Lower City was next consumed (VI. vi. 3). "Fire was set to the residence of the Magistrates, the Acra, the Council Chamber, and the place called Ophla, the flames spreading as far as the Palace of Queen Helena, which was in the centre of the Acra,"—but the Palace of Helena was not burned. On a subsequent day to the burning just mentioned "everything was burned as far as Siloam" (VI. vii. 2). "The Jews were more active in the work of conflagration than the Romans" (VI. vii. 3). After the Upper City was captured the Romans "burned the houses where the Jews had fled for safety." "Towards evening the slaughter abated; but in the night the fire gained the mastery, and the next day beheld Jerusalem in flames" (VI. viii. 5).

Location of burned storehouses

The account of the destruction of storehouses by John and Simon helps us in locating their position in the city. They were not in the Temple, or on the Temple area. They were not in the suburbs, nor were they among the fine residences in the Upper City, the modern Zion. They were in the Lower City, in and around the Lower Market-place. The business of Jerusalem required that they should be here.



PLAN I.—ILLUSTRATING THEORIES OF THE SECOND WALL

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SECOND WALL

Three Theories—Alike Incorrect and Untenable

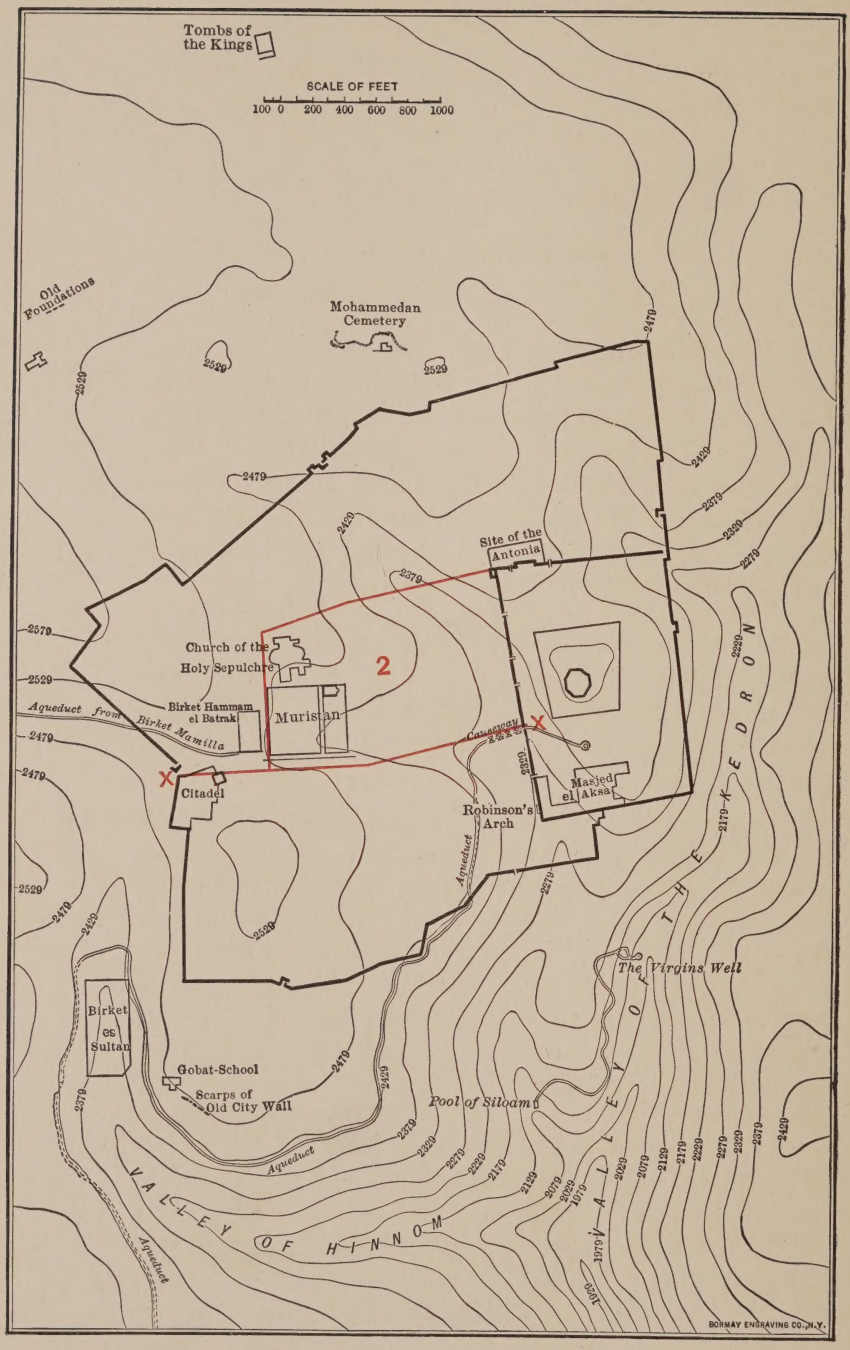
THESE Plans are designed to show three of the different positions assigned to the Second Wall. The number of acres enclosed by each, and the length of the wall in each case, is given. Theories of the Second Wall

The heavy red line between X and X, or the Jaffa Gate on the west and the Council House on the east, indicates the line of the Old or First Wall bounding modern Zion on the north.

This is designed by its advocates to leave the Holy Sepulchre entirely outside and to the west of the Second Wall. Its area is 1,000 x 1,050 feet, making 1,050,000 square feet, or about 24 acres. The length of the wall is 1,900 feet. Plan I.

The line begins in the Old Wall at a point between the Muristan and the Pool of Hezekiah and runs north, enclosing, as its advocates designed it to do, the Holy Sepulchre on the west and north; after turning east it joins the line of the north wall of Plan I., and follows it to Antonia. This new section added to the area of Plan I., 850 x 500 feet, or 425,000 square feet, makes 1,475,000 square feet, nearly 34 acres. The length of the wall is about 2,300 feet. Plan II.

The line begins in the Old Wall north of the Castle of David, runs to the west of Hezekiah's Pool, thence to the east between the Muristan and the Holy Sepulchre, thence north and east to Antonia, leaving, as it was designed to do, the Holy Sepulchre entirely outside the Second Wall. As will be seen, however, it leaves Plan III.



PLAN II.—ILLUSTRATING THEORIES OF THE SECOND WALL

it in a re-entering angle of that wall, a fact not to be passed unnoticed. The area of this new section, 322,500 square feet, added to that of Plan I., makes 1,372,500 square feet, or about 32 acres. The length of the wall is 2,600 feet.

Remarks and objections

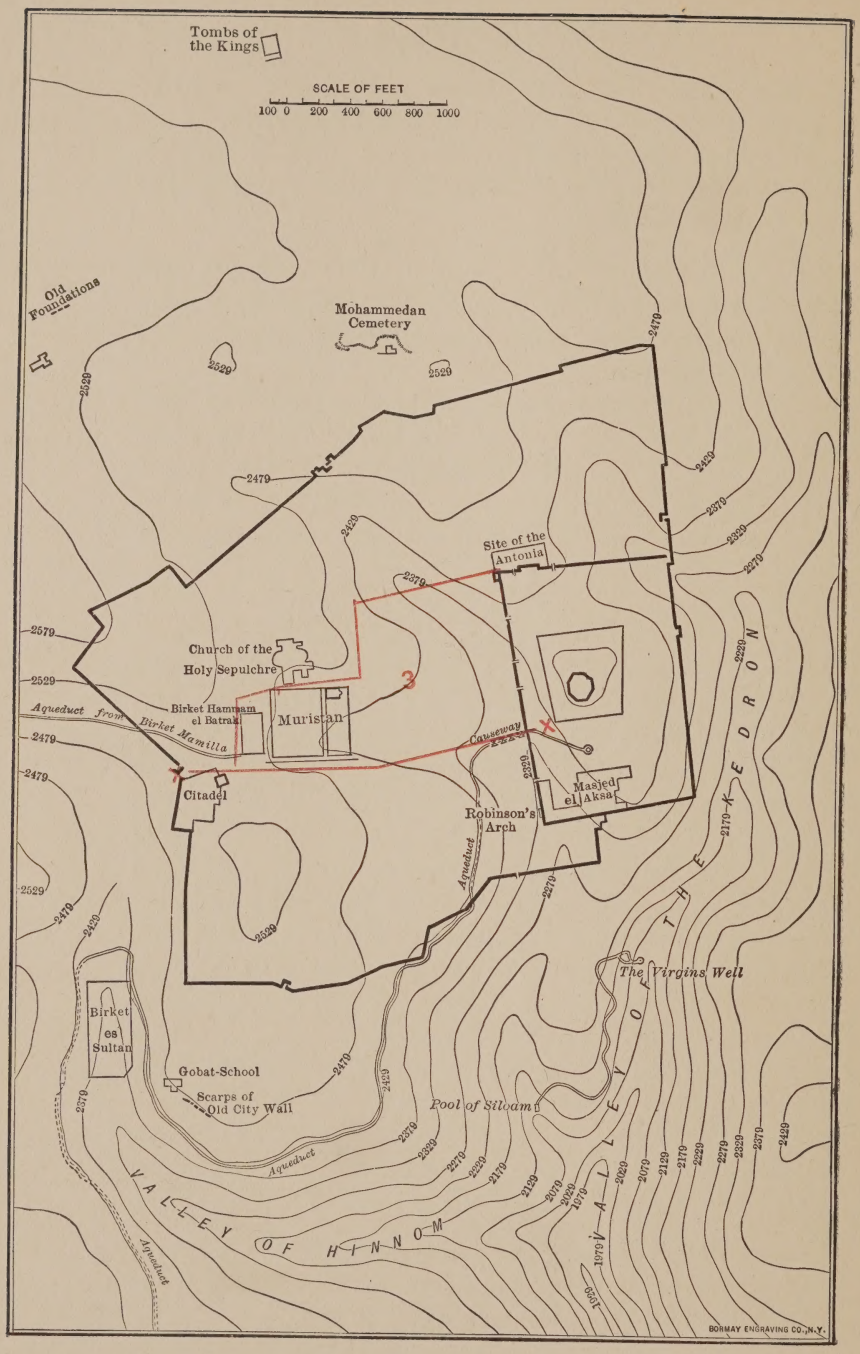
On the line bounding Plan I. on the west and north no ancient remains have ever been found, and no valid reason has ever been given why the Second Wall should thus be laid down.

The same is likewise true of the line bounding Plan II. on the west and north. The wall bounding Hezekiah's Pool on the east, sometimes called the "broad wall," has no connection with any ancient city wall, and its explanation will be found elsewhere. (See Chapter XL.)

The wall bounding Plan III. is, as will be seen, in four sections, on two of which remains have been found, namely, the section west of Hezekiah's Pool and the section between the Muristan and the Holy Sepulchre. (1) North of the Castle of David a piece of old wall of Jewish workmanship was found and described by the present writer in 1885. It was 120 feet in continuous length, and is accepted as the beginning of the Second Wall. (2) On the other section, near the eastern end of the line separating the Muristan from the Holy Sepulchre, similar remains of Jewish work have been found. But they did not belong to any city wall, and the only satisfactory explanation of them is for a purpose quite different. (See Chapter XXXVIII.)

Evidence will be brought forward showing that these three positions assigned to the Second Wall are untenable and incorrect, with the exception of the 120 feet referred to, which is now partly covered by the eastern wall of the Grand New Hotel.

Two published maps only is it necessary to refer to: (1) Schick in *Zeitschrift des Pal. Vereins,* vol. 8, 1885; (2) *Pal. Expl. Fund Reports,* 1902, p. 292.



PLAN III.—ILLUSTRATING THEORIES OF THE SECOND WALL

CHAPTER XXV

THE SECOND WALL

Its Central Tower—Its Capture—Meaning of Certain Greek Words

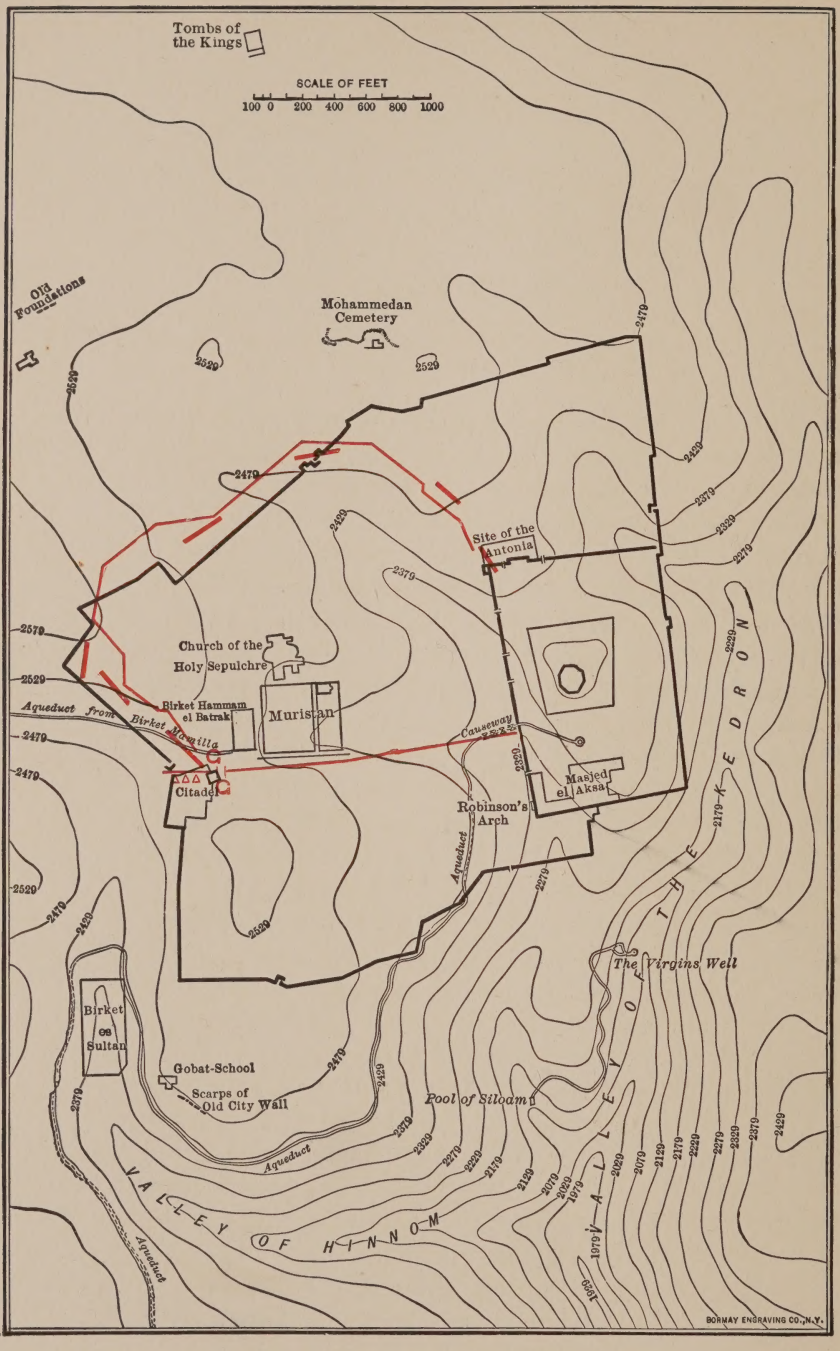
"This wall had its beginning at the gate which they call Gennath, belonging to the First Wall. It reached to the Antonia and encircled only the northern quarter of the town" (V. iv. 2). This is all that is said of the Second Wall in the chapter where Josephus describes the three walls of Jerusalem with considerable detail. Both the "Gate Gennath," and the Greek word translated "encircled," need to be carefully considered. The Second Wall—Plan I

In the account of the capture of the Second Wall we learn a few other facts respecting it. It was divided into two sections, the "north" and the "south"; the north facing north and bounded on that side by the New City, the south wall facing west. It was at the central tower of the north wall that Titus made his attack upon it and finally took it by storm (V. vii. 4; viii. 1).

Near this tower there seems to have been a weak point in this wall, which is referred to as "not joined," i.e. to itself. This part had been hastily repaired and put into as good condition as possible before the siege began (V. vi. 2). (See later in this Chapter.)

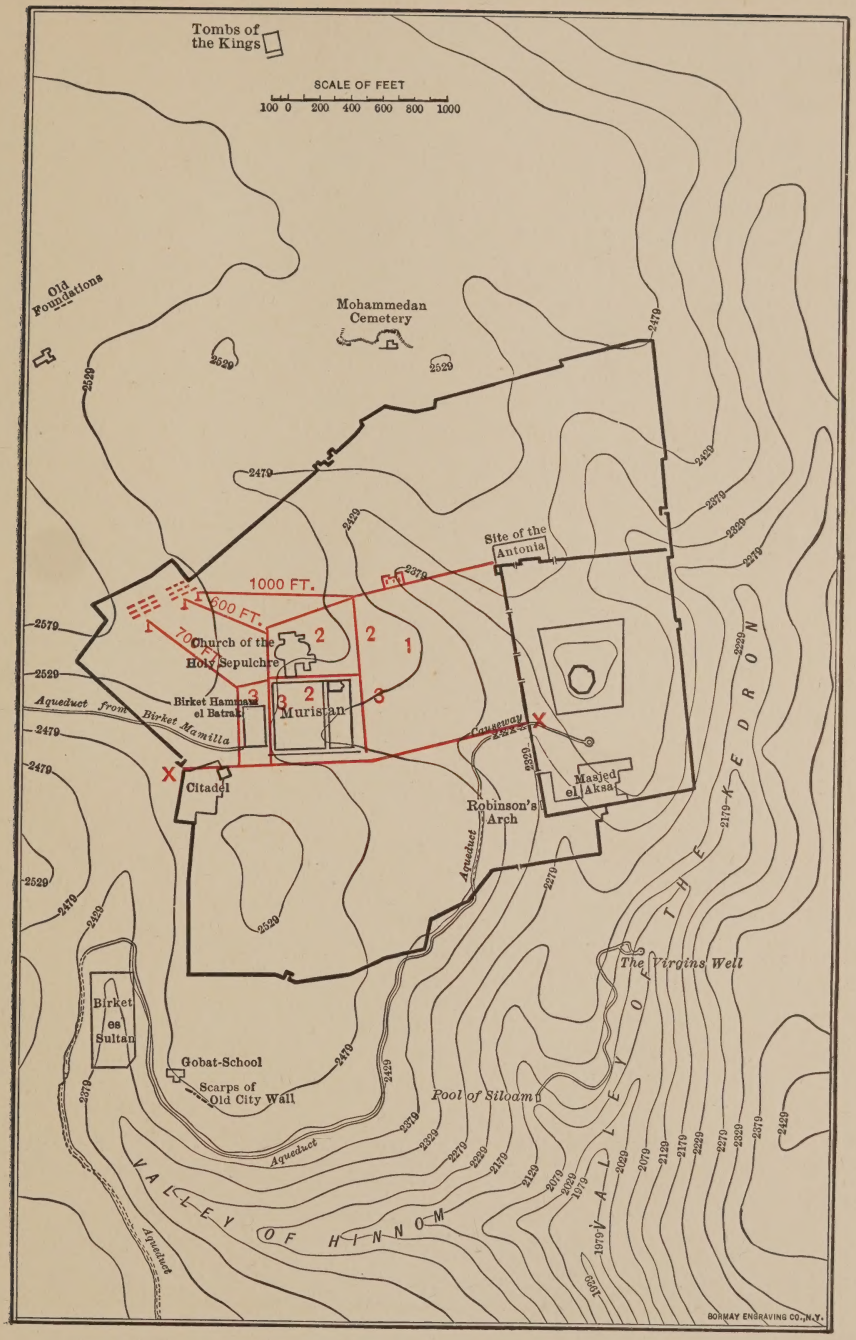
Moreover, the ground at this point was relatively low, and there were, both east and west of it, "upper gates" through which sallies were made against the attacking party. After it was taken, the north section was thrown down by Titus, and garrisons were placed in the towers of the southern section.

The portion of Jerusalem enclosed by the Second Wall is almost always spoken of as the "Lower City";



PLAN I.—THE SECOND WALL FROM THE GATE GENNATH TO THE TOWER OF ANTONIA

This encircles the north part of the city. G G, Gate Gennath. The broken red lines indicate where remains of the Second Wall have been found.



PLAN II.—THREE THEORETICAL SECOND WALLS AND DISTANCE FROM NEAREST POINTS OF EACH TO TITUS' THEORETICAL CAMP

occasionally the word "city" alone is used, and in a few cases it is called "Acra."

Observation:—A wall between two given points (V. iv. 2), unless there is something remarkable about it, is naturally spoken of as extending or reaching from such a point to such a point. The present text of Josephus has the rare Greek form *aneeei*, *ανηει*, which is rendered "goes up." The old Latin translators and others have thought here of another Greek word meaning to reach or extend. Accepting the present Greek word as correct, although extremely rare in form and use, it affords a precise description of the course of the Second Wall from the Damascus Gate to the Tower of Antonia. The ground rises and the wall would rise with it. This feature is very apparent to one viewing this part of the city from any point to the northwest, and is seen also in the Illustration here presented of the present wall north of Jerusalem.

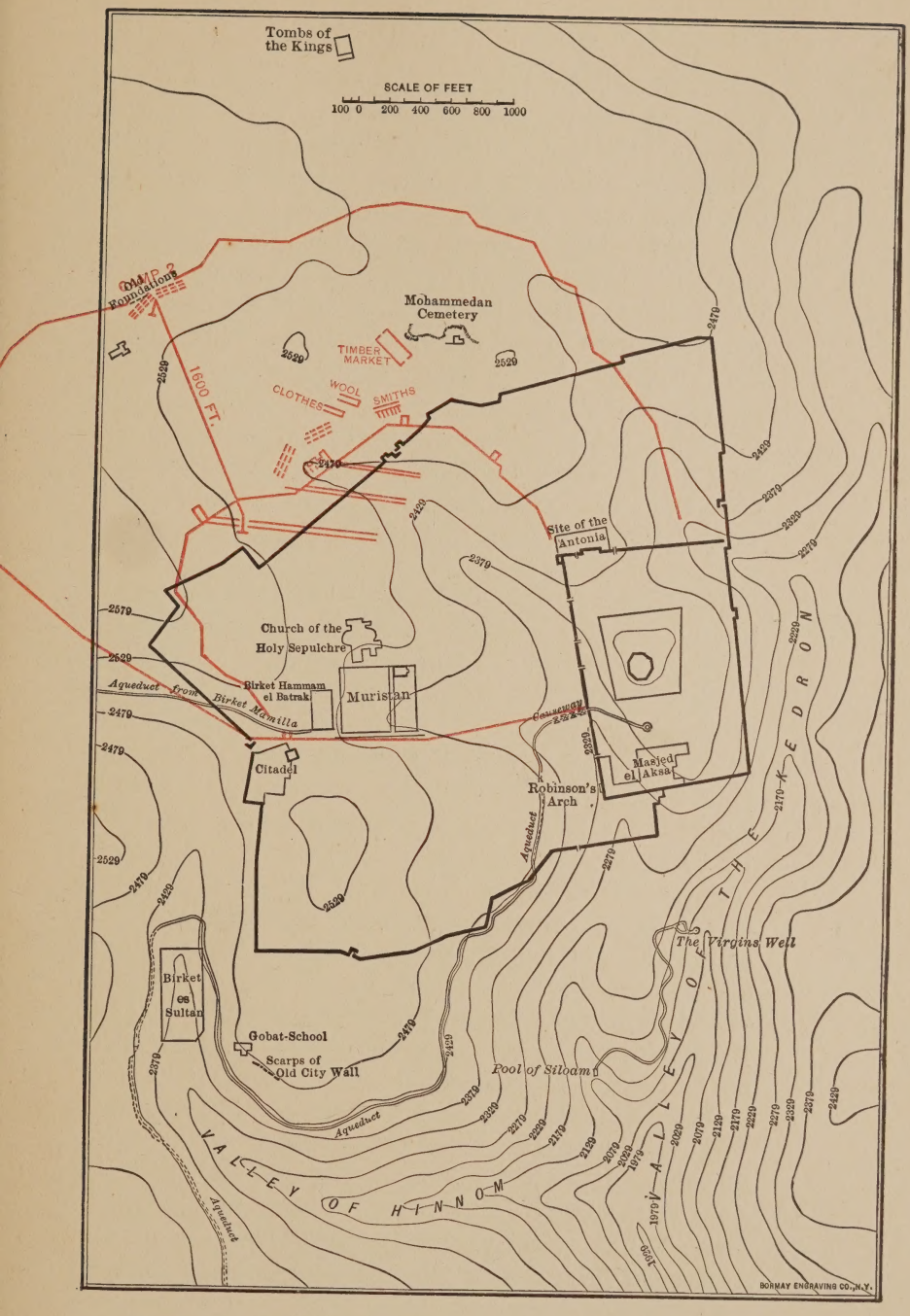
The Gate Gennath—Plan I., GG

The Gate Gennath, where the Second Wall commenced, was in the First Wall. The First Wall, throughout its entire extent from the Jaffa Gate to the Causeway, faced the north. The Gate Gennath therefore opened north and south, and derived its name from its connection with some garden. Josephus in all his descriptions of Jerusalem mentions by name but two gates: the Gate Gennath (V. iv. 2), and the Gate of the Essenes (V. iv. 2). This seems singular.

Both the Second Wall and the Third or Agrippa's Wall began at points not far distant from each other towards the western end of the First Wall. For convenience, the Third Wall began at the Tower Hippicus, the most westerly point; the Gate Gennath, the starting point of the Second Wall, was to the east of this. Both walls would not start from one and the same point; this indeed is by Josephus never said or implied; and it is only for the sake of definiteness that this apparently unnecessary statement is here made.

NORTH WALL OF JERUSALEM

The north wall of the city makes a great dip in its course from east to west, the greatest depression being some distance west of the Damascus Gate. Formerly, the valley at this point was 30 or 40 feet deeper than at present. Here stood the "central tower" of the Second Wall which was attacked by Titus. The gates to the east and west of it are described by Josephus as "the upper gates."



PLAN III.—POSITION OF TITUS IN ATTACK ON SECOND WALL

Second and Third Walls, and Psephinus Tower. Titus' Camp No. Two, and distance from Second Wall.

Herod's Garden

Jerusalem had within its walls but one garden, that of Herod the Great. The open courts of the palace itself and the wide space about it were made attractive by fountains, water courses, flowers, shade-trees, and whatever other ornamentation wealth could provide.

Its quiet walks and more prominent promenades were enjoyed by the people of the city. Military officials and distinguished guests, besides members of the royal family, would pass in and out of the palace. If the rulers, the army, the visiting strangers from other lands, the citizens bent on business or pleasure, came and went through these grounds by a particular entrance, how long a time would be required for the name "Garden Gate," applied to that entrance, to become a household word to the inhabitants of Jerusalem?

Capture of Second Wall—Plan III.

The taking of the Second Wall has some features of interest peculiar to itself. A few topographical details are revealed which are important.

After Titus captured the First Wall (i.e. Agrippa's) he transferred his camp within it and "immediately commenced the attack upon the Second Wall." His camp "was at such a distance from the Second Wall as to be out of range of the missiles thrown by the Jews" (V. vii. 3).

There was desultory fighting, though some of it was severe, from Antonia clear round to Hippicus. It is called "distant fighting," because there was no direct attack by way of siege upon the wall.

The Jews from the wall annoyed the Romans, and the Romans in turn injured the Jews; but it was done on both sides by the light-armed soldiers. The Jews made repeated sallies, and engaged the Romans hand to hand; but were always driven back. These sallies and this comparatively lighter work were all that was done in the capture of this wall, with the single exception of Titus' attack upon its central tower (V. vii. 4).

Against this wall no mounds were erected. Mounds

were erected against the First Wall (V. vi. 2); against Antonia (V. ix. 2); against the Third Wall at Amygdalon and at John's Monument (V. xi. 1, 4-6), which were destroyed; a second time against Antonia (V. xii. 4); against the Inner Temple (VI. ii. 7); and finally, after the Temple was taken, against the Third Wall (VI. viii. 1); but against the Second Wall no mounds were used.

The Second Wall had a north section and a south section; one section facing north and the other section facing west. It also had many towers; but it was the middle tower of the North Wall that was selected as the most feasible point of attack.

Here a siege engine, which is afterwards called a "ram," was called into service (V. vii. 4). Titus, in making this attack, had *behind him* the New Town.

As there were three walls, so there were three cities: the Upper City, the Lower City between the Old Wall on the north of modern Zion and the Second Wall, and the New City between the Second Wall and the First Wall (i.e. Agrippa's), which Titus had just taken.

When planning his attack on the First Wall Titus chose a section where "the wall was low" (V. vi. 2). Looking over the city from some high point, perhaps from Psephinus, he discovered that directly south of the low place in the First Wall the Second Wall "was not joined."

The meaning is that it *was not joined to itself.* After some previous siege this portion had not been rebuilt so as to be specially strong. The siege was in A.D. 70; but the war broke out in A.D. 66; and during these four years the inhabitants of Jerusalem had done much repairing of the walls in order to render them as strong as possible. In this part of the Second Wall there was a vulnerable point where Titus made his attack and which, after one failure, he successfully stormed (V. viii. 1). The ground at this point was relatively low, for there were "upper gates" through which the Jews made sallies to impede the Romans. One of these gates

may have been to the west of the point of attack, but the others were to the east of it; but both to the west and to the east the ground is higher than it is between. (See Illustration.)

In connection with the statement that the Second Wall at a certain point in the north side was "not joined," it may be of interest to refer to the well-known fact that the walls of Jerusalem as we now see them are composed of stones of many different periods; that in some parts Jewish stones are abundant, which is true of the walls enclosing the northwest corner of the city; that in the north wall, at about 1,300 feet from the northwest corner, going east, Jewish stones cease altogether; that between this point and the Damascus Gate, the distance being about 400 feet, the stones are all new, belonging to the Crusading or Arab period, or to both; and that at the Damascus Gate old Jewish work appears again. The absence of Jewish stones in this section of the present wall, which follows in general the line of the ancient Second Wall, is certainly remarkable.

Titus, in attacking the Second Wall, had the New City behind him; and the particular part of it is described as that where the Wool Market, the Clothes Market, and the Braziers' Shops were situated.

In the account of Titus' capture of the Second Wall there is an interesting passage which requires attention.

The breach in this wall was only a narrow one; it was "at that point of the New City where the Wool Market, the Braziers' Shops, and the Clothes Market were and where the streets led obliquely to the ramparts" (V. viii. 1). The first thought on reading this sentence is that the "markets" and "the streets running obliquely" were all on the same side of the Second Wall. Nothing is more natural than such a conclusion; but it is not correct.

The New City embraced everything north of the Second Wall, everything between it and the First Wall, and it was entirely in the hands of Titus. Its extensive timber market had been burned by Cestius, and both by Cestius and by Titus other portions of it had been destroyed.

The region where Titus made his attack was not crowded with houses; it was not cut up by narrow streets; it was a comparatively open place, as the region of several important markets would naturally be, where his troops could operate freely.

Of this sentence, "the markets" were on one side of the wall and in the control of Titus; while the "streets leading obliquely to the ramparts" were on the other side of the wall and not in the control of Titus.

It was in these streets, "because of their knowledge of them, that the Jews had greatly the advantage over him."

Titus stationed his archers at the ends of these streets and his men did their best, but they were at last driven out; and it was only after three days of persistent effort that the Romans made a successful entrance.

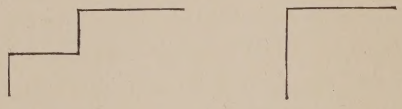
The annoyance which Titus' troops, while in these narrow streets, received from the Jews on the housetops illustrates well what is common in Oriental sieges: namely, soldiers in the streets are simply at the mercy of an enemy posted on the flat roofs of the houses.

Significance of the word "encircled"

In considering the course of the Second Wall, careful attention must be paid to the language of Josephus. To this feature of the question writers have done scant justice, some slighting it, and others ignoring it altogether. The statement is that the Second Wall "encircled the northern quarter" of the city. The Greek word *kukloumenon* means encircled. The verb *kukleoo* means to encircle. Thence come our word circle, cycle. In all the uses of this word the idea of round, circle, encircle, is prominent, and is the only idea. From this conclu-

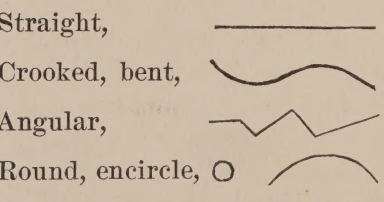
sion there is no escape. "To enclose" is not the meaning of the word. For the choice of this word by Josephus, there must have been some definite reason in his mind.

The accompanying diagrams illustrate the course of the Second Wall according to the three theories which have been noticed and fully described. As the boundary lines of No. 2 and No. 3 are practically alike, only two diagrams are here presented, as follows:—



If Josephus with either of these two lines before him had used the word encircle to describe them, we should have a right to say, (1) that he was ignorant of the proper meaning of the word; (2) that in the use of this word he was careless beyond excuse; or (3) we must fall back on the poverty of the Greek language. But in Greek for "straight," say a line or a street, we have a definite word *euthus*. For "crooked," "bent," "zigzag," there is the definite word *skolios*. For "angular," the word *goonioeidees*. For "round," "circle," "encircle," *kuklos*, or some form of *kukleoo*. The word in Josephus, encircled, is *kukloumenon*, κυκλουμενον.

These lines may be indicated thus:—



The last supposition, therefore, as to the poverty of the Greek language cannot be true. Supposing Josephus had before him either of the two lines shown in the diagrams above, and he wished to describe it, what

Greek word would he have chosen? We allow to him some ability, a fair knowledge of Greek, and some sense. No generous consideration for his ignorance, no apology of any kind is called for; all that is required is to do him common justice and say he suited his Greek word to the conditions of the case. Had the boundary lines been straight, crooked, or angular, would he not have said so?

It is not claimed that the line of the Second Wall formed an exact part of a circle; but it is claimed that, taking the two points now admitted to represent the two ends of the Second Wall, one west of Hezekiah's Pool and the other at the Tower of Antonia, and joining them by a line which touches the existing remains of wall in the north part of the city, the result is pretty accurately described by Josephus' word "encircled." (Plan I.)

Theories examined. Present Wall and Third Wall—Plan I.

It is asserted by many writers that the present north wall of the city follows in general the line of the Third Wall of the time of the siege, which is the First Wall of Titus. Let us suppose this to be true and inquire as to the inevitable conclusions of this theory.

After the First Wall was taken, Titus moved his camp—i.e. his personal camp, which we have called No. 2—within it and prepared to attack the Second Wall. In this camp, which is indicated on the Plan, Josephus states that Titus was out of the range of missiles from the enemy. Three plans given in the preceding chapter, showing three different theories of the Second Wall, are here combined into one: 1 indicating the first Plan, 2 2 2 indicating the second Plan, and 3 3 3 indicating the third Plan. From the northwest corners of these different boundaries, lines have been drawn to Titus' camp and the distance in each case indicated. The Jews by this time had learned the use of warlike engines, and they had excellent machines which they had taken from the XIIth Legion at Beth Horon. The range of these machines was 1,200 feet. Titus therefore,

since he was out of the range of the enemies' missiles, must have been more than 1,200 feet from the Second Wall. But from No. 3 to his camp was 700 feet, from No. 2 to his camp was 600 feet, and from No. 1 to his camp was 1,000 feet. From any one of these points the Jews could have annoyed Titus greatly and made his camp very unsafe. Hence we have either to discard Josephus' statement entirely, or to admit that the line of the present wall has nothing to do with the First Wall of the siege of Titus.

Central tower of north wall —Plan II.

Titus made his attack "at the central tower of the north wall," and this is indicated on the supposed line of the Second Wall. The situation would be at the lowest point between the Antonia and the Pool of Hezekiah. Its distance from Antonia would be 600 feet, and Antonia would rise above it to a height of 100 or perhaps 150 feet. Neither this wall nor this tower covered or protected in any way the Tower of Antonia. Hence they were not in the way of Titus, whose plan was *to reach the Temple through the Antonia,* and he could have attacked that fortress directly had he chosen to do so. If the north wall and its central tower are to be located as here supposed, the troops of Titus in their attack upon it must have suffered terribly. Soldiers defending a city could not possibly ask for a greater advantage over their enemies than the Jews in Antonia would have had over the Romans, for practically the Jews in Antonia were in the air directly over the heads of the Romans. But there is no intimation whatever that the capture of this wall was particularly difficult or was attended with special loss of life.

Supposing we take the third Plan, marked 3 3 3, and place the central tower, the point of attack, about where the Court of the Holy Sepulchre is; the Romans would not have suffered so much from Antonia, but besides the enemy in front, their flank would have been exposed to an enemy, powerful, well armed, and des-

perate, behind a wall only 100 yards distant. Moreover, knowing what we do of the great basin of the Muristan, we are certain that there was no room for streets to run from this wall obliquely into the city. If we accept Plan I. there would still be no room for such streets. To any and all of these theories there are insuperable objections, and they are not in harmony with any known facts or with the statements of Josephus.

Second and Third Walls—Plan III.

Plan III. represents the Second Wall as described by Josephus. It is justified by the Greek word which he uses, by the existing remains, and by other valid reasons. It extends from the Gate Gennath (near the present Castle of David) round by the north to the Tower of Antonia. It allows for a "northern" and a "southern" portion. The middle portion is lower than the sections both to the east and west, which justifies the expression "upper gates" relative to this point. The various great markets were in the New Town to the north of the middle portion of the wall, and the "streets running obliquely" were on the inner side and therefore in the Lower City. Agrippa's or the Third Wall is shown extending from Hippicus round by the north to the Old Wall at a point half-way between the Tower of Antonia and St. Stephen's Gate, where it terminated at (that branch of) the Kedron valley. Like the Second Wall, it follows existing remains which have been brought to light at many points along its course. It was the "First Wall" captured by Titus and inside of which his Camp No. 2 was placed. The distance from the nearest point of the Second Wall to Titus' camp was about 1,600 feet, and we have seen that the range of the best machines was about 1,200 feet, so that Titus could not be reached by missiles thrown by the Jews.

CHAPTER XXVI

CAPTURE OF THE UPPER CITY

Points of Attack—Futile Efforts of Jews to Escape

Capture of the Upper City. Events preceding the siege

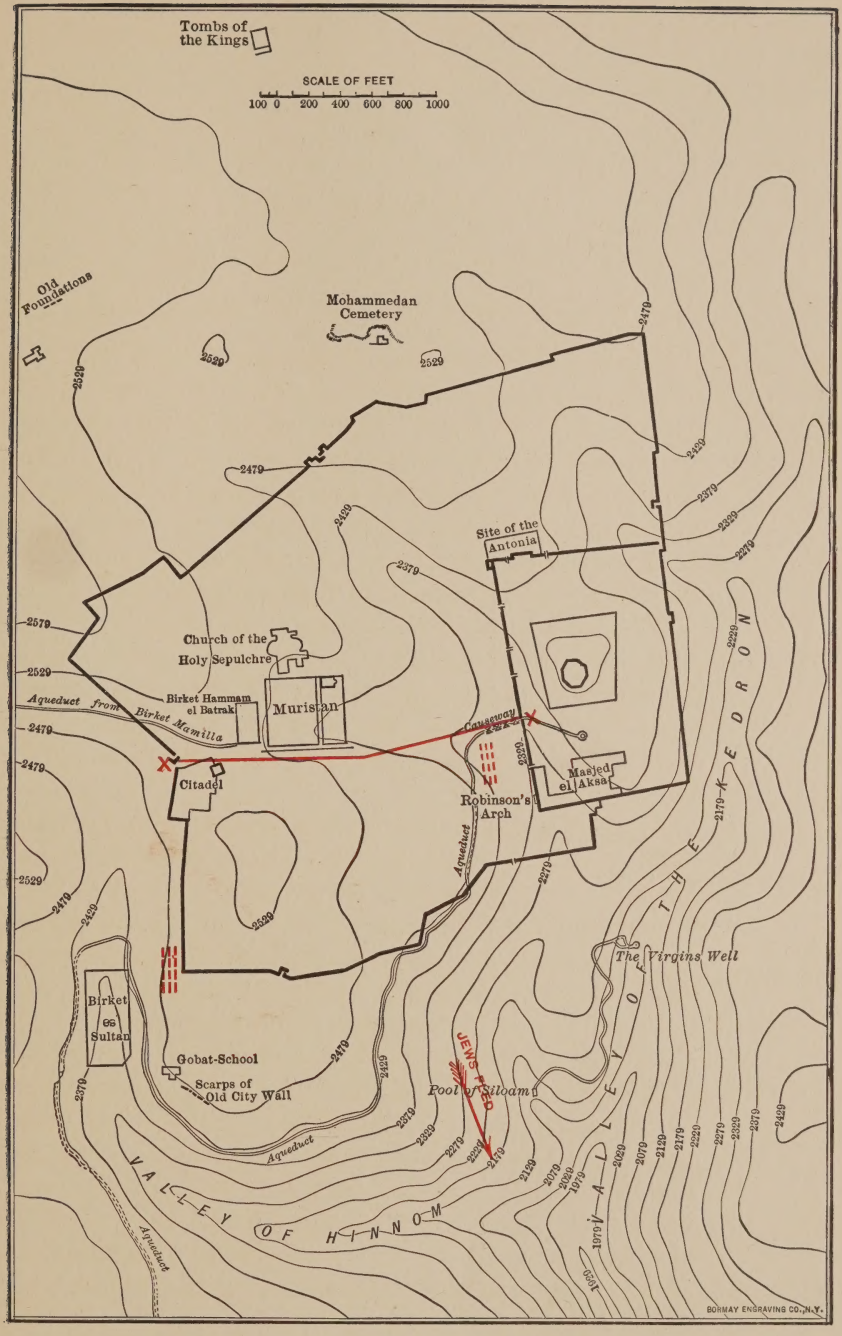
AFTER the Temple was in flames the Jews fled into the city,—meaning both the Upper and the Lower Cities,—for in a large section of the Lower City the houses had not been destroyed (VI. v. 1; vi. 1). The next step was the conference between Titus and the insurgent leaders across the valley at the Xystus (VI. vi. 2), the leaders refusing the terms offered them. The third step was the burning of the Lower City (VI. vi. 3).

"Fire was set to the residence of the magistrates, the Acra, the Council Chamber, and the place called Ophla, the flames spreading as far as the Palace of Queen Helena, which was in the centre of the Acra." Not everything was burned, however, nor were all the Jews driven out.

The fourth step was the terrible massacre in Helena's Palace by the insurgents. This was not Herod's Palace in the Upper City, as has been asserted, for the Upper City at this time was crowded with tens of thousands of Jews, and the Romans had not yet approached the walls. Moreover, Herod's Palace is generally spoken of as "the royal palace," while here only "palace" is used.

Further, the burning of the Lower City was not yet complete and a great number of terrified people still remained among the ruins. Many of these had taken refuge in Helena's Palace, which was a "strong place," and there they were attacked by the insurgents and over 8,000 of them put to death (VI. vii. 1).

It was after all these events that the Romans succeeded in driving the brigands from the Lower City and in burning everything as far as Siloam (V. vii. 2).



PLAN I.—POSITION OF ROMANS IN THE SIEGE OF THE UPPER CITY

Even at this time the brigands had not all been driven into the Upper City and confined there, but they lay in ambush among the ruins around the walls (of the Upper City) and put to death any of the Jews who attempted to desert.

The events here detailed are connected with so many important topographical points that their sequence must be borne in mind.

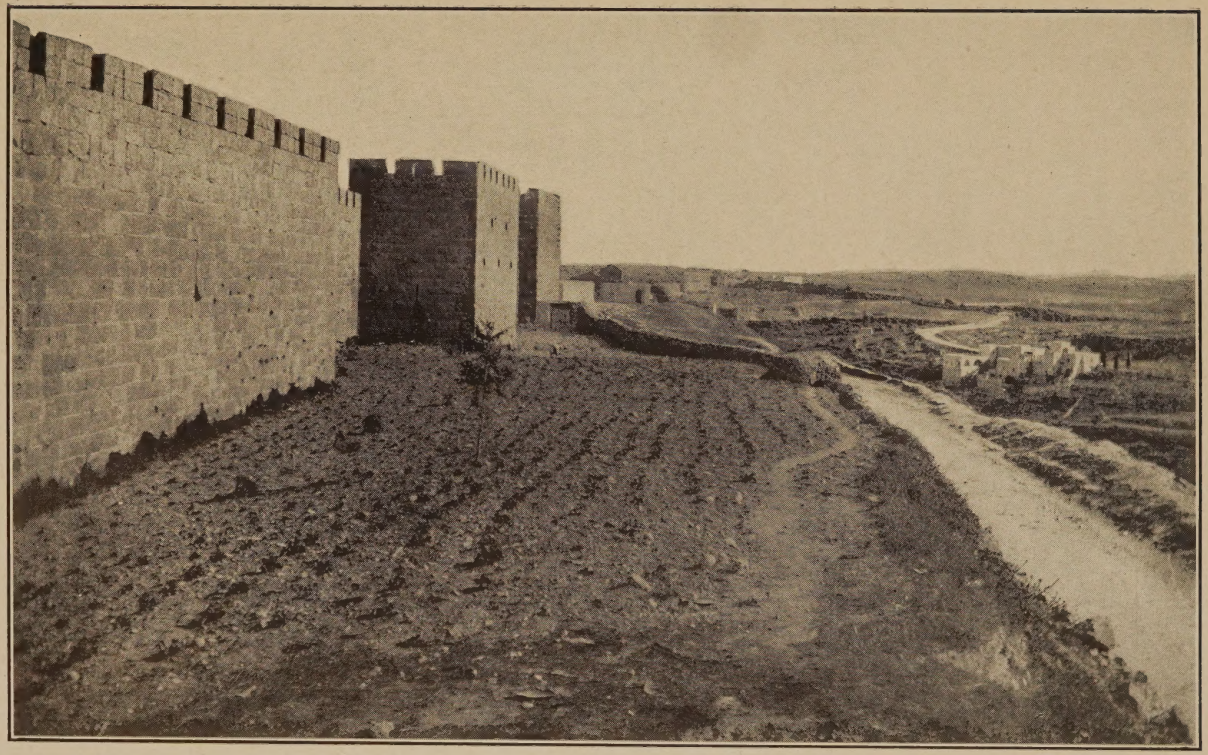
Nature of the hill

The precipitous nature of the hill on which the Upper City stood was the first thing to be considered in Titus' plan of attack. The Greek word *perikreemnos,* *περικρημνος,* means "steep all round." Mounds were decided on as necessary, and two points selected where they were to be built: one was on the eastern side in the region of the Xystus and the other in the western quarter opposite the Royal or Herod's Palace. Here the indefinite Greek word *antikru,* "opposite," occurs again just where the most positive word would be acceptable.

At Hippicus the wall of the Upper City formed nearly a right angle with a north face and a west face, but the point where the mounds were erected is not stated.

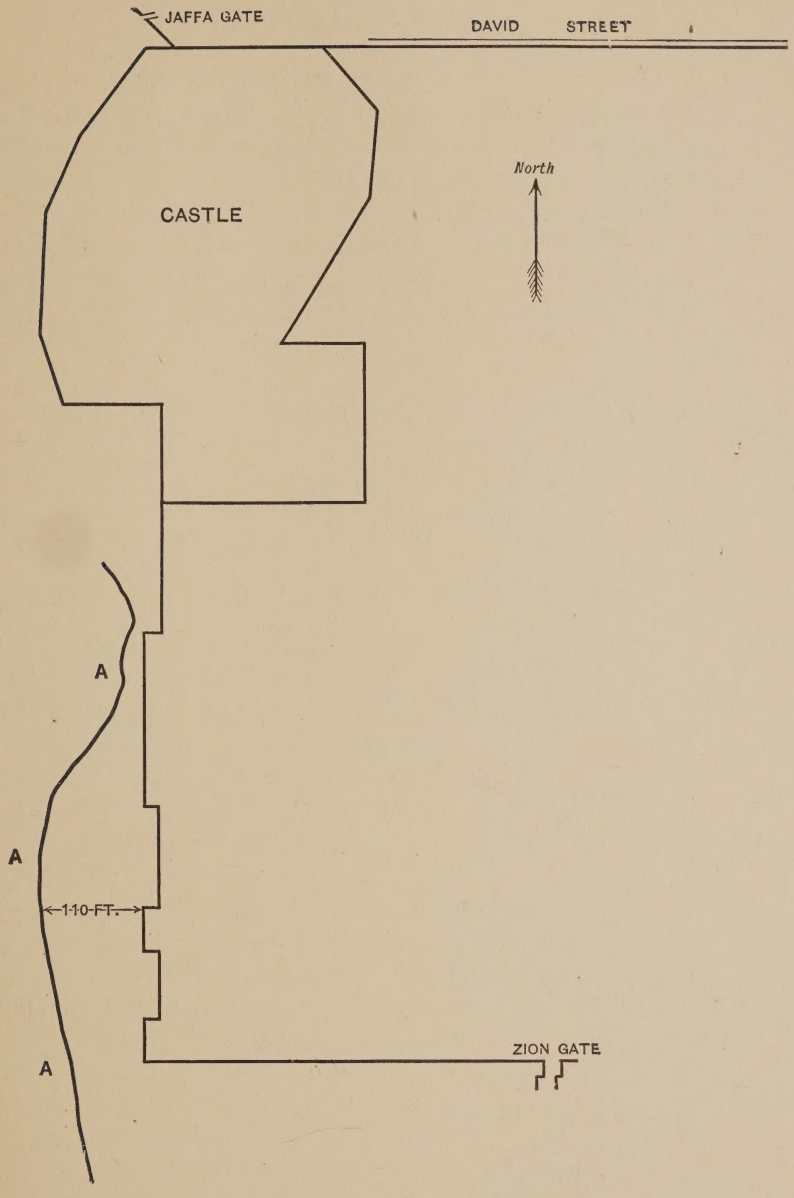
Unless the ground adjoining the west wall on the outside has been changed since that time, there is no place for mounds to have been erected and engines to work except towards the south, say not far from the present southwest corner of the city wall, which would be west of the south end of the Armenian Garden; and this point might certainly be described as "opposite the Royal Palace." (See Plan II. and Illustration.)

A breach was made by which the Romans entered; the Jews, "abandoning the ramparts" and "the towers where famine alone could have subdued them," fled into the ravine towards Siloam, where they tried to break through the barrier in that direction—that is, the Wall of Circumvallation—but without success (VI. viii. 4, 5). The Romans were surprised that they had been able to capture these walls with so little difficulty and blood-



POSITION OF THE MOUNDS ERECTED BY TITUS AGAINST THE WEST WALL OF THE CITY

The view is looking south.



PLAN II.—POSITION OF TITUS' MOUNDS IN THE ATTACK ON THE UPPER CITY

The line A A A represents the brow of the hill. At the point marked 110 feet there would be ample space for the soldiers to act. West of this the bank slopes precipitously towards Birket es Sultan. The Jews, being thoroughly disheartened, made only a feeble defence of their wall, and when the Romans entered they found no one to oppose them. The wide space occupied by Herod's Palace and Garden must be considered, also the distance all along the west side of the city between the wall and the houses

shed; and when once on the walls they were astonished at seeing no one to oppose them, which illustrates the fact that between the wall and the houses there was the wide space occupied by Herod's Palace and the grounds about it (VI. viii. 5).

It is noticeable that the mounds and the troops near the Xystus accomplished little in this siege. They may have served rather as guards than as participants in the siege operations.

Towers and west wall left standing

Subsequently, Titus "ordered the entire city and the Temple to be razed to the foundations, allowing the three towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne to remain as a memorial of the strength of the place, and that part of the wall which enclosed the city on the west" (VII. i. 1).

Siloam not within the First Wall

The two points of operation against the Upper City were: first, on the westerly side, and second, on the easterly side near the Xystus. But if the wall of the Upper City ran, as some writers allege, from Bishop Gobat's School to a point below Siloam, and thence north, including Ophel, to the Temple area, the choice of these points would seem inexplicable. The Romans, with a force near Hippicus and another near the Xystus to prevent the Jews from escaping, could have gone with other troops to the valley near Siloam and entered the city without much difficulty. It is not likely that they selected a difficult approach instead of an easy one. There is no reason to ignore or dispute the statement that Titus found the hill of the Upper City "precipitous all round." Hence he could not approach the wall from the south, southeast, or southwest directions. This was next to impossible. His attack must be from other directions.

CHAPTER XXVII

DESTRUCTION OF HOUSES AND INHABITANTS

Never Complete—Occasional Sally of the Jews

Houses and inhabitants not all destroyed

At the time of the siege under Titus, Jerusalem was crowded with Jews. All the historical notices confirm the supposition that a multitude of people were shut up within the walls, actual prisoners unable to get away. Jerusalem was divided into three parts, the Upper City, the Lower City, and the New City which embraced all that lay between the Second and Third Walls, counting these historically.

As the siege went on, the First Wall (Agrippa's) being taken, and after that the Second, the question arises, what became of the Jews? After the First Wall was taken were those in that section all driven into the Temple, the Lower City, and the Upper City? Again, after the Second Wall was taken, were they all driven into the Temple and the Upper City? And finally, after the New City, the Lower City, and the Temple had been taken, could all the multitude have been crowded into the Upper City? These questions seem to answer themselves, namely, that this could not have been possible. It is known that a great multitude died of famine and a great multitude more by violence.

When Cestius in A.D. 66 entered the city and burned a portion of it, including the Timber Market, it is not said or implied that he destroyed all the houses or killed all the inhabitants (II. xix. 4). Later, when Titus had taken the First Wall, and it is said that "he threw down a great part of it and laid in ruins the New City"

(V. vii. 2), it is not asserted nor is it to be supposed that he destroyed every house or put to death every human being living there.

When the Second Wall was taken, the Romans were masters of all the Lower City; but they did not destroy every house, nor kill all the people. Titus caused a cessation of hostilities for a short time, as the army pay-day had arrived, and he employed this interval in making a display in sight of the enemy, which he hoped would have upon them a strong moral effect. The whole army appeared in its "dress parade" attire, and the Jews, as was expected, beheld the scene. "The whole of the ancient wall and the northern quarter of the Temple were crowded with spectators and the houses were seen to be filled with people on the lookout, nor was there a spot in the city which was not covered with multitudes" (V. ix. 1). It is certain that the houses in the Lower City were not all destroyed, nor were the people all driven out, for while the Romans were besieging the Temple, a Jew "came out by the Monument of the High Priest John and with insulting language challenged the best of the Romans to meet him in single combat" (VI. ii. 10). Not long after, he was killed. But this man came from the houses in the Lower City and from the multitude of Jews that still occupied them.

Later, Titus gave orders "to burn the Lower City" (VI. vi. 3). Yet, even after the burning, the Palace of Helena remained unharmed and was crowded with terrified Jews whom the insurgents, still in the Lower City, massacred (VI. vii. 1). It was after all these events that the Romans succeeded in driving the insurgents from the Lower City. Even then, "they lay in ambush outside the Upper City among the ruins, to kill any who were inclined to desert" to the Romans (VI. vii. 2).

In warfare, when an army conquers a country, not all the houses are burned or all the inhabitants killed. In

like manner, as one section after another of Jerusalem came into the power of the Romans, it is not to be supposed that all the houses were destroyed or the inhabitants exterminated. Many dwellings remained and very many Jews remained to occupy them.

CHAPTER XXVIII

GOVERNORS AND PROCURATORS

Civil and Military Authority—Residences—Residence in Jerusalem Doubtful—Compared with Modern Consuls—Importance of Antonia, Where Troops Were Stationed—Garrison Ancient and Modern Compared—Beema, or Tribunal

Governors and Procurators

A GOVERNOR received his appointment directly from the Emperor. He had general oversight of his province, of the Procurators, and all important matters were brought before him. For example: Herod the Great, wishing on a certain occasion to punish some robber bands east of the Jordan towards Arabia, required the permission of Saturninus the Governor and Volumnius the Procurator of Syria before he could undertake warlike measures against them (*Antiq.*, XVI. ix. 1, 3). This was in the year 7 B.C.

Again, when Archelaus in the year B.C. 4, after the death of his father Herod the Great, went to Rome and a delegation of Jews wished to accompany or follow him to act in his behalf, they required the permission of Varus, the Governor of Syria, to do so (II. vi. 1).

The Procurators, although appointed by the Emperors, were under the direct orders of the Governors of Syria. The Governors had general oversight of their conduct and could order them to trial or send them to Rome: as for example, in the case of Pontius Pilate A.D. 36, and Cumanus A.D. 52.

Whenever the Procurators entered Jerusalem there seem to have been some special ceremonies in honor of the occasion (*Antiq.*, XVIII. iii. 1).

Coponius, A.D. 6-10, the first Procurator sent to Judea after it became a Roman province on the banishment of

Civil authority of the Procurators

Archelaus, was "invested by Cæsar (Augustus) with authority to inflict capital punishment." Besides Coponius very little is said of the other early Procurators, namely, Ambivius, A.D. 10-13; Rufus, A.D. 13-15; Gratus, A.D. 15-26; till we reach the time of Pontius Pilate, A.D. 26-36. Pilate had the same power, for he passed sentence of death upon Jesus; he caused the death of many Jews in the tumult which he himself raised in connection with the water supply of Jerusalem (II. ix. 4); and his conduct in attacking and putting to death a number of Samaritans led to formal complaints against him which resulted in his being tried and sent to Rome (*Antiq.*, XVIII. iv. 1, 2).

Marcellus, A.D. 36; Cuspius Fadus, A.D. 44-46 (he followed immediately upon the death of King Herod Agrippa I.); and Tiberius Alexander, A.D. 46-48, seem to have been on the whole quiet men. It is said of them that "they made no changes in the national usages and preserved the country in peace" (II. xi. 6). Yet even Fadus put to death a number of prominent Jews who were charged with making a disturbance east of the Jordan (*Antiq.*, XX. i. 1).

Cumanus, A.D. 48-52, for slaughtering Jews by wholesale, was tried by the Governor of Syria and sent to Rome (II. xii. 1, 3, 6; *Antiq.*, XX. vi. 1, 2).

Felix, A.D. 52-60, had the power of life and death, for by his order there was a massacre of Jews at Cesarea (II. xiii. 7; *Antiq.*, XX. viii. 7).

Festus, A.D. 60-62, conducted the trial of Paul at Cesarea, Paul having been left in prison by his predecessor Felix (Acts xxiv., xxv.).

Of Albinus, A.D. 62-64, it is said that on his arrival he "used all his endeavors and care that the country might be kept in peace" (*Antiq.*, XX. ix. 2). But there was soon developed a vast amount of corruption, chiefly through the favoritism of the High Priest and the use of money, so that his rule is painted in dark colors (II. xiv. 1); and at his departure it is said of him "that he

had emptied the prisons, but thereby filled the country with robbers" (*Antiq.*, XX. ix. 5).

Florus, A.D. 65-66. In the year A.D. 66, "Florus scourged and nailed to the cross men of equestrian rank who were of Jewish origin," and ordered a massacre of the Jews in the Upper Market (II. xiv. 9). At this time no less than 3,600 innocent people were killed.

From the foregoing facts we learn that the Procurators had the power of life and death, and if this was not actually stated in their commissions, as it was in the case of the first Procurator, Coponius, they assumed this authority and frequently exercised it in an arbitrary and cruel manner. We may give a few of the Procurators of Judea the credit of being upright men who aimed at ruling the province with justice; but the majority of them were unprincipled and wicked, ready to lay violent hands on the property of their subjects, and ready always, on the slightest pretext, to slaughter hundreds, and in some instances thousands, of a race whom they hated.

Their military authority

There was always a legion quartered in the Tower of Antonia (V. v. 8). The legions had special commanders (II. xviii. 11). In the commotions following the death of Herod the Great, B.C. 4, while the Governor Varus was in Antioch, Sabinus, a Procurator (but not of Judea), made unreasonable demands upon the Jews and nearly plunged the nation into war with Rome. Sabinus was in the Upper City with certain troops and hard-pressed by the enemy, when he ascended the Phasaelus Tower and signalled to the legion that was in Antonia to attack the Jews in the Temple. After a time Varus appeared, the uprising was easily suppressed, and Sabinus, aware that he was largely responsible for the trouble, did not dare to meet Varus, but ran away (II. iii. 1-4; v. 1-3).

In the trouble between the Jews and Samaritans at Ginea, in Galilee, the Procurator Cumanus led a large

force to that region to restore order, which he did with bloody violence (II. xii. 3-7; *Antiq.*, XX. vi. 1). At the feast of unleavened bread Cumanus was in command of the troops in Antonia and was actually with them watching the Jews. And when the trouble became so serious that he feared he had not troops enough about him to meet the emergency, he ordered up more soldiers, who "came pouring in by the colonnades," with the result that the Jews were frightened and 10,000 of them lost their lives, some being killed and a vast number crushed to death in their efforts to escape (II. xii. 1).

In some serious trouble with the Samaritans at Mount Gerizim, Pilate led a large body of troops against the Samaritans, captured many of them, and ordered them to be slain (*Antiq.*, XVIII. iv. 1, 2).

In the case of the Egyptian impostor who collected an army of 30,000 men and led them against Jerusalem, the Procurator Felix called out all the Roman troops at his command—that is, the Antonia legion—and all the citizens who could join him, and in the action which ensued nearly the entire number of the Egyptian's followers were slain or captured (II. xiii. 5). At Cesarea some trouble arose between the Jews and the Syrians (Greek-Syrians), when Felix ordered his troops to attack them, and many were killed (II. xiii. 7).

Florus, whose object seems to have been to intimidate the Jews and to pillage the city, made a rapid march to Jerusalem with a considerable force of cavalry and infantry with which to accomplish his purpose. He ordered the troops to plunder the Upper Market and to kill all they met with; consequently there was a terrible massacre and 3,600 people, including women and infant children, were put to death (II. xiv. 6, 9). By his order the soldiers attacked a body of Jews north of the city and many lives were lost. Florus attempted to lead his troops from Herod's Palace to the Antonia, but failed.

Later he left a certain body of troops in Jerusalem and with the rest of his army returned to Cesarea (II. xv. 5, 6; xvii. 4).

It is very clear that in military matters the authority of the Procurator was supreme. The legionary commanders and the commanders of other bodies of soldiers were entirely under his control. He could summon to arms the whole military force in his province; he could order the troops as he pleased; and he himself led them from one post to another or into battle, as the case might require. The moment, however, that the Governor of Syria arrived on the scene, the Procurator's authority over the troops, and over civil affairs as well, ceased.

An unprincipled Procurator had it in his power, whatever the Roman law may have been, to do an infinite amount of harm. He could encourage corruption, practise extortion and cruelty to almost any extent so long as he was not found out; but the moment his crimes goaded the people into rebellion he was held responsible and must suffer by the loss of his position, by banishment, and sometimes by death.

Residence of Governors and Procurators

The question of the residence of the Procurator of Judea is one that has been much discussed and one therefore which must receive the most careful attention. Every passage in Josephus bearing on this matter has been examined and grouped under each official's name with the date of its occurrence. Some Governors visited Jerusalem two or more times.

To complete the notices there has been added what is very interesting, if not specially important, that the rendezvous of the Roman army in Syria was at Ptolemais or at Cesarea. As for Governors, the places visited are, with the exception of Antioch, those in the line of their duties; while the names connected with the Procurators are confined, with a single exception (that of Florus), to Cesarea and Jerusalem.

B.C. 4, SABINUS.

Cesarea. II. ii. 2.
Jerusalem. II. ii. 2; III. i. 4; v. 2; *Antiq.*, XVII. ix. 3; x. 9.

B.C. 4, VARUS.

Ptolemais. II. v. 1.
Cesarea. II. ii. 2; *Antiq.*, XVII. ix. 3.
Antioch. II. ii. 2; iii. 1; v. 3; *Antiq.*, XVII. v. 7; xi. 1.
Jerusalem. I. xxxii. 1; II. iii. 1; v. 2, 3; *Antiq.*, XVII. v. 2; x. 9.

A.D. 26-36, PILATE.

Jerusalem. II. ix. 2, 4.
Cesarea. II. ix. 2, 3.

A.D. 37, VITELLIUS.

Antioch. *Antiq.*, XVIII. v. 3.
Jerusalem. *Antiq.*, XVIII. iv. 3.
Ptolemais. *Antiq.*, XVIII. v. 3.

A.D. 39, PETRONIUS.

Ptolemais. II. x. 1-5; *Antiq.*, XVIII. viii. 2-9.
Antioch. II. x. 5.

A.D. 44, LONGINUS.

Jerusalem. *Antiq.*, XX. i. 1.

A.D. 44-46, FADUS.

Jerusalem. II. xi. 6; *Antiq.*, XX. i. 1.

A.D. 48-52, CUMANUS.

Jerusalem. II. xii. 1.
Cesarea. II. xii. 2, 5.

A.D. 52, QUADRATUS.

Antioch. II. xii. 6.
Tyre. II. xii. 5.
Cesarea. II. xii. 6.
Lydda. II. xii. 6.
Jerusalem. II. xii. 6.

A.D. 52-60, FELIX.
Cesarea. II. xiii. 7; *Antiq.*, XX. viii. 7. See also Acts xxiv.
Jerusalem. II. xiii. 5; *Antiq.*, XX. viii. 6.

A.D. 60-62, FESTUS.
Jerusalem and Cesarea. Acts xxiv., xxv.

A.D. 62-64, ALBINUS.
Alexandria. *Antiq.*, XX. ix. 1-3.

A.D. 65-66, FLORUS.
Jerusalem. II. xiv. 3, 6-9; xv. 5, 6.
Sebaste. II. xiv. 4-6.
Cesarea. II. xiv. 3; xv. 6; xvii. 1-4.

A.D. 66, CESTIUS.
Antioch. II. xiv. 3; xvi. 1; xviii. 6, 9.
Ptolemais. II. xviii. 9, 10.
Cesarea. II. xiv. 3; xviii. 10.
Antipatris. II. xix. 1.
Lydda. II. xix. 1.
Jerusalem. II. xiv. 3; and all of chap. xix.

It was at Ptolemais that Vespasian, A.D. 67, assembled his army, and in A.D. 70 that Titus did the same (III. ii. 4; iv. 2). Ptolemais was the rendezvous of the Syrian army whenever it was to march into Judea and Samaria. Sometimes they assembled also at Cesarea, and even when they came from Antioch and stopped at Ptolemais for completing their plans, they passed through Cesarea on the way to Jerusalem. The case of Vitellius is an exception, who when ordered to march against Aretas in Arabia, and intending to do so through Judea, sent his army, at the urgent request of the Jews, eastward across the Esdraelon Plain to the Jordan (*Antiq.*, XVIII. v. 3). The reason why the Jews made this protest to which Vitellius yielded, was on account of the images on the ensigns which the army carried.

Summary

We find that the Governors of Syria resided in Antioch, and on rare occasions visited Jerusalem, coming generally by way of Ptolemais and Cesarea; Antipatris and Lydda being likewise mentioned as on their route. Their visits were always on business, sometimes most urgent business, and not a single instance is mentioned where they visited Jerusalem for curiosity or pleasure.

In like manner we find that the Procurators resided at Cesarea, and went to Jerusalem as often as their presence was required. From all the available testimony this seems to have been the rule, and there is no evidence whatever that any of them remained in Jerusalem beyond very brief periods. From the date of the appointment of Coponius after the banishment of Archelaus until the outbreak of the war with Rome in A.D. 66, there were thirteen Procurators, for Sabinus in the time of Varus, Governor of Syria, although called "Procurator" was not a Procurator of Judea. The first Procurator was Coponius, appointed by Augustus in A.D. 6.

No special palace for the Procurators

It can be said at once that, so far as Josephus' testimony is concerned, the question cannot be decided. At the same time no one can deny the possibility of such a thing—namely, that there was a Procurator's palace or that the Procurators had a palace in Jerusalem. There was during that period no lack of palaces in the city: that of Herod the Great; that of the Asmonean family, occupied at the last by Herod Agrippa II. and Bernice; those of Helena, Grapte, Monobazus, and the High Priest; and the military palace in the Tower of Antonia; these are mentioned and to them must be added the residences of wealthy private citizens. But the existence of one or many palaces does not give the information desired.

There are certain considerations which must be noticed:

First, the fact that the usual residence of the Procu-

rators was at Cesarea. No one can blame them for their choice; that they preferred Cesarea, with its soft climate, its life, its ships coming from distant ports, and its beautiful sea, to Jerusalem of the Jews, with its many quarrels and its multitude of lifeless ceremonies.

Second, there is no evidence that the Roman Government provided palaces for them.

Third, their tenure of office, averaging a little more than three years, was so short that they would not think of purchasing houses unless they were men of wealth. Generally they came to Judea to get money, to get rich if they could rather than to spend money.

An interesting illustrative fact can be drawn from modern practices. Of the ten or more nations represented in Jerusalem by Consuls at the present time (1903), only two own a consular residence, and until recently there has been but one. The terms of service here are usually brief; these officers do not wish to buy houses for themselves, even if they were able, for they might have to leave them immediately, and the respective governments do not purchase houses for them. Still the Consuls reside in Jerusalem, which the Procurators did not pretend to do.

Procurators and Herod's Palace

In the year 4 B.C. after the death of Herod the Great, Sabinus "started for Jerusalem to protect Herod's treasures." For some reason he remained at Cesarea, where he then was, till Varus, the Governor of Syria, had left Antioch, when "he hastened to Jerusalem and seized upon Herod's Palace." "He made rigid search for the royal treasures." His demands were so extravagant and so unreasonable that they were resisted by force. The Jews flocked to the defence of their rights, and Sabinus before he could help himself was besieged and really shut up as a prisoner in his palace. Later Varus arrived and war was averted. This serious outbreak of popular feeling was the direct result of the high-handed measures of Sabinus. The account shows that he had

some private scheme behind his public declaration that "he wished to protect Herod's treasures" (II. ii. 2; iii. 1, 4; v. 2). His connection with Herod's Palace was very brief and very slight. He wished to secure money for himself. He came as a robber and actually ran away in disgrace. His accidental connection with Herod's Palace established no rule and created no precedent.

It is not till seventy years later that Herod's Palace is again mentioned in connection with a Procurator, namely, Florus, in A.D. 66. It is a singular coincidence that the residence or even the stopping-place of the Procurators in Jerusalem is only twice mentioned: at the death of Herod the Great, and at the death of the nation, counting the commencement of the War as such, with an interval between them of seventy years.

In A.D. 66 Florus was in Herod's Palace. He came to Jerusalem on the 28th of April, and the next day ordered the massacre of Jews in the Upper Market and the pillaging of the houses in that quarter of the city. It was five and a half months before the defeat of Cestius, October 16. But Florus did not remain in Jerusalem more than three or four days, possibly a week—a week of bloody deeds. As soon as Cestius the Governor appeared there was no more use for Florus, and no doubt he was glad to get away from a terrible conflagration which he himself had kindled. At all events he soon after left Jerusalem and never returned.

If Herod's Palace was set apart for the use of the Procurators of Judea for the brief visits which they made to Jerusalem, which is pure supposition, it would be interesting to know what disposition was made of it during the rest of the year. It certainly was not needed till after A.D. 6, and from A.D. 37 to A.D. 44, while Herod Agrippa I. reigned, there was no Procurator to occupy this or any other palace. During the seventy years there were but fifty-three years when the country was governed by Procurators.

Antonia probable residence of Procurators

The Antonia was of the most ample proportions. It was designed to accommodate a large number of troops with the officers in their command, and to be a residence for High Priest, King, or Governor as might be required. It was built to serve as a palace as well as a castle. For several generations the sacred vestments of the priests were deposited in Antonia and its predecessor Baris,—this included the entire life of Christ and a few years after his death,—and this fact would fix this castle in the minds of the inhabitants in a way that could never have been true of Herod's Palace. The care of these vestments was a vital matter to the Jews, and the Romans were hardly less exacting. To obtain possession of them, very punctilious forms had to be observed by both the highest Jewish and the highest Roman officials. This, as well as some other important matters, might possibly be delegated to the commander of Antonia by the Procurator, who was called *epitropos*, ἐπίτροπος, the commander being called *phrourarchos*, φρούραρχος (*Antiq.*, XV. xi. 4; XVIII. iv. 3). This taking and returning of the sacred vestments and the careful examination of seals took place on four occasions during the year. Since it was necessary for the Procurator to be in Jerusalem at the time of the great feasts, when outbreaks were likely to occur, and in close connection with the troops in Antonia so as to be ready for any emergency that might arise, he may have had the oversight of the unsealing and sealing of the vestments.

In the trouble at the Feast of Unleavened Bread mentioned in II. xii. 1, Cumanus the Procurator was present with the soldiers; but he was not and could not have been inside the Temple with the Jews; and the only natural inference is that, being at the scene of disturbance, he was in the Antonia and not in Herod's Palace. This fact is incidental evidence and is not urged as proof for the establishment of any rule.

However the question may at last be decided, it is perfectly certain that the Procurators while they were

in Jerusalem would find all the accommodations they could possibly require for a residence in the great military palace in Antonia, to which all reasonable indications seem to point as their official headquarters.

Modern garrison of Jerusalem

At the present time the garrison of Jerusalem is in two sections about equally divided, one section being quartered in the barracks connected with the Tower of David and the other in the barracks which stand on the site of the Tower of Antonia. When this custom began no one knows, and likewise no one knows or remembers when it did not exist. It is a singular fact that precisely this arrangement existed in the time of Josephus and farther back in the time of Herod, which would cover a period of more than one hundred years. During the Roman occupation the bulk of the troops, "always a legion," were stationed in the Tower of Antonia.

Tribunal

It is frequently asserted that there was a "permanent tribunal," *beema, βημα,* at Jerusalem in connection with the residence of the Governor. The matter, since it is believed by many, deserves attention.

Archelaus, after the mourning ceremonies for his father Herod the Great were over, erected a beema in the Temple area from which he addressed the Jews as to his intentions. This was in B.C. 4. (II. i. 1).

Quadratus erected a beema at Lydda, where he heard the complaint of the Samaritans against the Procurator Cumanus when the latter was condemned (*Antiq.,* XX. vi. 2). This was in A.D. 52.

When Pilate introduced the "images" or "effigies" of Tiberius into Jerusalem, doing the thing by night, he aroused "a dreadful tumult among the Jews" (II. ix. 2, 3). They flocked to him at Cesarea and begged him to remove them, which he refused to do. They "lay on the ground five days and nights." Pilate, resolved on severe measures, threatened to kill them all if they did

not desist from their demands. Wishing to make as great a display of his authority as possible, he ascended a beema in the great circus at Cesarea and had himself and the petitioners surrounded by a three-lined circle of soldiers in order to intimidate the Jews, but at last he yielded to the Jews instead of their yielding to him.

Pilate ordered the construction—read "reconstruction"—of the aqueduct for bringing water to Jerusalem, and used the sacred money from the Temple treasury for the expenses. This angered the Jews greatly. But nothing was done until Pilate, who had been absent while the work was going on, returned to Jerusalem, when the Jews made a great outcry against his act. He ascended or was on the beema when this clamor took place, and from his beema he gave the soldiers orders to attack the people, and many lost their lives (II. ix. 4). Pilate was in office A.D. 26-36.

Florus in A.D. 66, in the month of April, arrived in Jerusalem, and the day after he erected a beema, twice mentioned in connection with this event, from which he gave orders to the soldiers which resulted in a great massacre of the Jews (II. xiv. 8, 9).

Titus, after the capture of the city, had erected a beema in his first camp, because there was ample space in that region, from which he made an address to his soldiers congratulating them on their valor and the successful termination of the war. This was in A.D. 70 (VII. i. 2).

Authority can be exercised in a pompous manner, or in a firm, quiet, dignified manner; the one excites disgust, the other commands respect. The fact should not escape notice that the two most cruel and wicked Procurators that were sent by Rome to Judea were the only ones mentioned as having a "tribunal," a beema, namely, Pontius Pilate and Gessius Florus. This unnecessary display of authority by these petty officials, designed solely to magnify their power and to overawe

the poor Jews, is in keeping with the recorded character of these two haughty and unprincipled men.

From the testimony of Josephus it does not appear that there was any "permanent beema" in Jerusalem. A beema is mentioned in connection with two only out of thirteen Procurators. The structures might be elaborate or they might be extremely plain; in either case they served the end desired, an elevated place whence a general or a governor could address the people about him.

Description of the Tribunal

The Tribunals used extensively by Roman generals were always small and low, reaching, to a man standing, about to the knee, sometimes above it, and very commonly to the thigh. In some instances they were as high as the waist and now and then they would reach the armpits. The medium height seems to have been the most usual. Occasionally they were ascended by a ladder, four, five, or six steps high as the case might require, but the steps were short and the floors of the tribunals were not above breast-high to a man standing.

They appear to have been constructed of thick boards and made in sections so that they could be folded up like a box for convenience in carrying on the backs of animals.

The occupants of the tribunals were generally three persons—rarely one person alone, and rarely also were there four persons; but occasionally there were two. The Emperor is sitting, and behind him slightly to the left is a person standing, while to the right and slightly in front is another person—the herald or the one who proclaimed what the Emperor said. When four persons occupy the tribunal there is scarcely room for them all. The man at the back stands on the very edge of the platform, and so does the man in front.

These interesting and instructive details of tribunals are furnished by Roman coins, which give practical hints in regard to several other things. For example, the

chairs in which emperors or other notables sat were of the ordinary height, so that the feet of the person sitting rested on the ground. Altars (also a very interesting fact) were always small and low; as high as the knees or the thighs was a common height. Military standards were small things hardly rising above the heads of the soldiers who carried them. In this respect they were wholly unlike our regimental colors. Reference may be made, further, to the size of cattle in plowing, to chariots for pleasure, royalty, or war, and to some other matters.

A tribunal in a basilica was only an enlargement of the idea indicated above: a raised platform where officials or persons of rank could sit.

CHAPTER XXIX

PERMANENCE OF ELIGIBLE SITES

Permanence of Names—Public Works of King Uzziah—Massive Stone Work Characteristic of Early Phœnician and Hebrew Periods

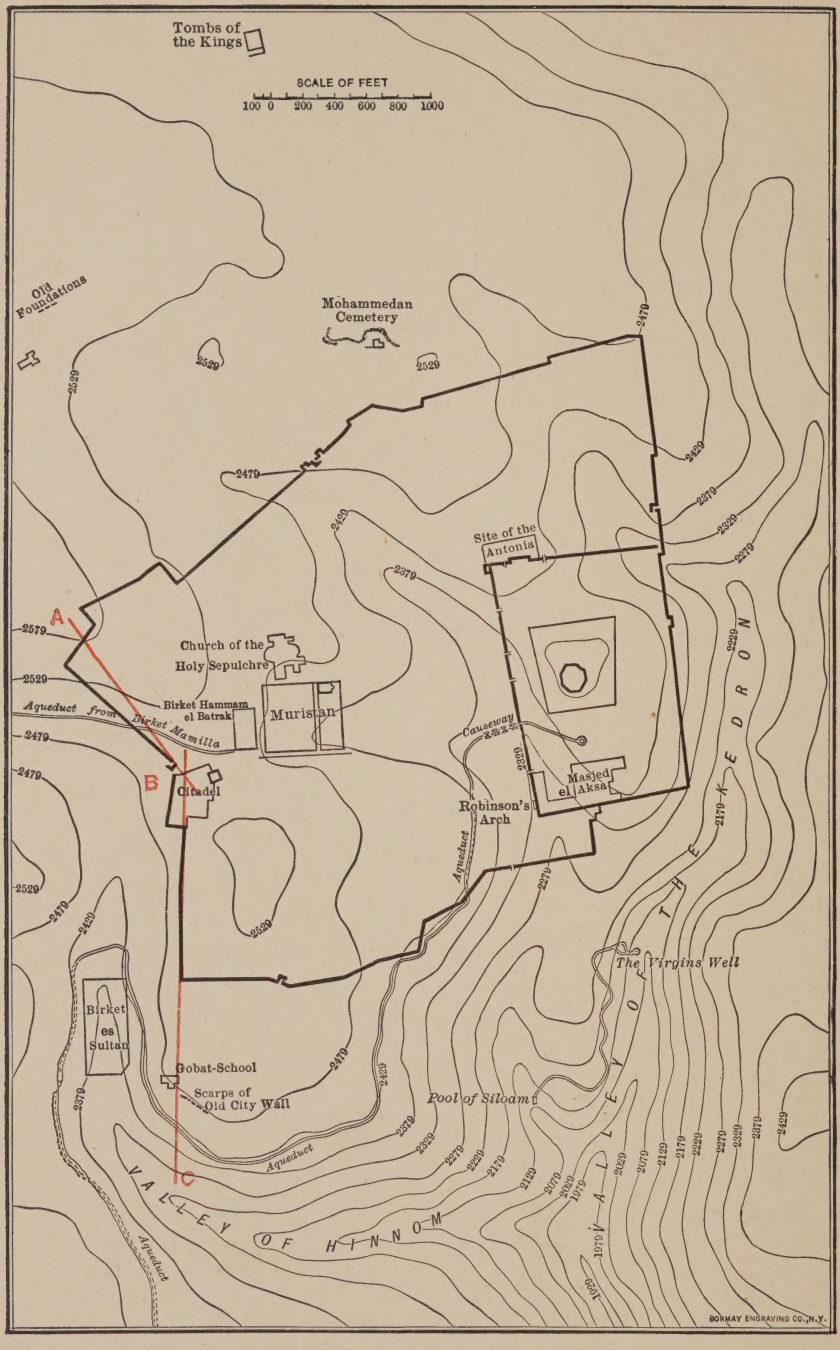
Permanence of eligible sites

DURING many years of study and exploration in Palestine the fact that a site once eligible is always eligible has become, to the present writer, axiomatic. It is extremely interesting to observe that the earliest inhabitants, in choosing the best points for defence, showed commendable strategic skill.

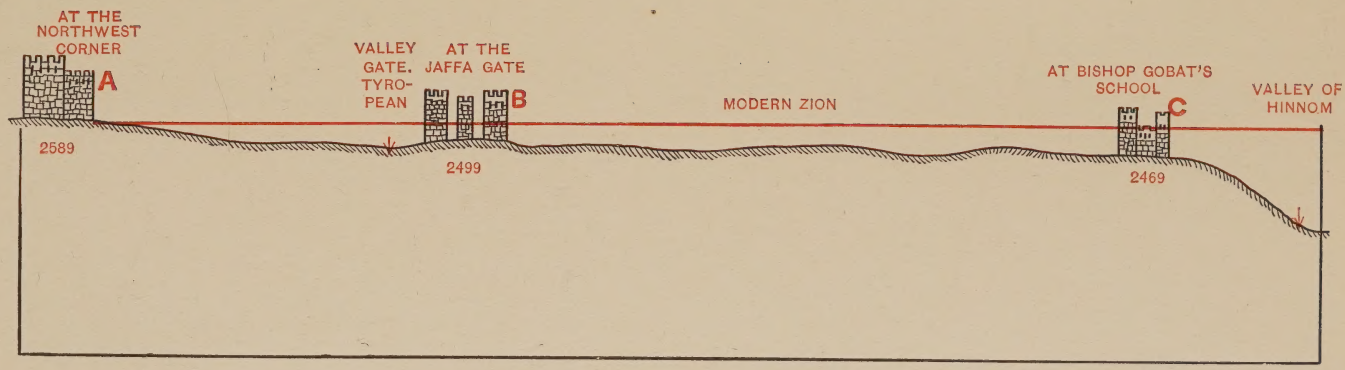
This may not always have been true of the plain country, where a water supply was of chief importance and guided in the choice of a site; as for example, Old Jericho at Elisha's Fountain. But it certainly was true of Gezer, where the Palestine Exploration Fund are at present (1903) excavating. A large hill strongly fortified, rising gradually from a plain like an inverted bowl or saucer, requires a terrible and costly effort to capture it. This description applied to Gezer is imperfect on the east side, but even there the approach would be extremely difficult.

In the case of the three celebrated towers, Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, erected near each other by Herod the Great (Chapter IX.), the point was not chosen by caprice, but because of its strategic importance. He did not choose a new site, but built or rebuilt on an ancient one.

Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at points suitable for the defence of the city. (See Plan II.) The south and east sides of the city were, by the nature of the ground, out of the question. His towers were on the west or northwest sides. We have one clue in the men-



PLAN I.—SHOWING THE SECTION LINE A B C, WHERE TOWERS STOOD IN EARLY TIMES



PLAN II.—TOWERS OF UZZIAH

At the points A B C, Plan I., as seen by a person approaching Jerusalem from the west.

tion of the "Valley Gate" (2 Chron. xxvi. 9), *shaar haggaia,* שַׁעַר הַגַּיְא, which would be near the present Jaffa Gate. There was here a small hill or rocky bluff, and a portion of the rock can yet be seen—a most suitable place for erecting a tower to protect the town against an enemy approaching from the west. It was here that Herod erected his three towers. (See Chapter IX.) Uzziah built another tower "at the turning of the wall," which was at Bishop Gobat's School. It was called Bathsura. (See Chapter VIII. and Illustrations.) This also was a point the importance of which no military commander could have overlooked.

Jaffa was chosen because it was a hill rising on the shore immediately from the water's edge and could easily be fortified.

The Jebusites chose a point in what is now Jerusalem for their fortress, which, they thought, was so strong strategically that no power on earth could take it.

The same rule that governs castles would apply to cities, and also to reservoirs and some other objects. A fountain, being a natural object, never changes its position; and the same thing may be predicated with almost equal certainty of a great reservoir designed to supply a city with water. Once constructed, it would always remain. (See Chapter XXXVII.—Gihon.)

Permanence of names

A very interesting fact in connection with Jerusalem and Palestine is the permanence of names. Sometimes a name is transferred from one site to another, but that only illustrates the hold it had upon the minds of the people. Again, a town may move to some other locality and carry its name with it. Of this Surafend—Serepta, Zarephath—on the Phœnician coast, is a good example. In this case the reason is said to have been greater safety.

A striking illustration is the name of Hebron. Abraham was connected with Hebron, and Abraham was called "the Friend of God." "Friend" is only a descrip-

tive word, but it came, at some time, to be a proper name. The Arabic word is *Khalil;* and Hebron, the mountains about Hebron, the road leading from Jerusalem to Hebron, and the gate of Jerusalem from which the road to Hebron leads, all have the name "Khalil" attached to them. What the Arabs call Bab el Khalil is known to Christians as the Jaffa Gate.

Jerusalem in old times had a strong citadel which bore the name of "Acra." But Acra was destroyed in such a way that it was really obliterated 140 years before Christ. The name, however, had become so fixed in the speech of the people that, applied to a certain quarter of the city, it remained and was in common use clear down to the time of its capture by the Romans A.D. 70, a period of 210 years.

When David took Jerusalem from the Jebusites it was a "stronghold," a "castle"; and after three thousand years we still have the name "Tower, or Castle of David" applied to the tower which stands near the Jaffa Gate. It seems hardly necessary to state that besides its name the present castle has no other connection with David.

Objects as landmarks

It is noticeable that Josephus frequently uses well-known monuments and other objects as landmarks. For general purposes this is perfectly proper, although sometimes the indications are far from satisfactory after the lapse of centuries. Such use was made of the Monuments of Helena, the Monument of the High Priest John, those of King Alexander, the Pool of Siloam, the Monuments of Ananus and Herod the Great, and some others. It is said, "such a place is near such a monument"; "the wall passed such a monument." As the language is general we are not to understand that the distance intended was actually 100 feet or 500 feet.

Our own usage is a good illustration of what we find in Josephus. If the person whom we are addressing is as familiar with the locality as ourselves, we say: "it

was near Mr. Smith's house;" "it was not far from Mr. Smith's house." We are perfectly well understood. In case the person addressed is not familiar with the locality we ask: "Do you know where Mr. Smith's house is?" The reply is "Yes." We then say: "it was in that region." We are understood, although the precise spot may have been distant from Mr. Smith's house half a mile or more.

Greater exactness ought not to be required of Josephus than we require of ourselves. In our daily speech we do precisely what Josephus did. This rule should be thought of in all his references to objects in or about Jerusalem as landmarks.

The word "opposite"

"Opposite" is the translation of a Greek word, *antikru*, *αντικρυ*, of frequent occurrence in Josephus. The Greek is said to be a very exact language, but this word is general, so general as to be indefinite and unsatisfactory. Where we need an explicit statement we have only a general one.

The use of this word at the present day by Orientals who have learned a little English, illustrates the difficulty we find in Josephus. A native tells us that such an event took place "opposite such or such a house," when it may have occurred "opposite" to it, by the side of it, or a mile away from it. The following diagram will indicate an Oriental's indefinite use of this word.

"A" is the given point. We say that 'B' is opposite to A. An Oriental may say that B is opposite to A, but he is not likely to. He will always say that 'C' is opposite to A, and that 'D,' which is a mile distant, is opposite to A. This, to a Western mind, is always con-

fusing until the Oriental habit is learned. But learning the habit is not correcting the evil. We are still as much puzzled as ever to know where a place is situated when we are assured that "it is opposite to A." We do not mean to complain of the Greek language, but in studying the topography of Jerusalem we often wish that the meaning of such Greek words as *antikru, αντικρυ, para, παρα, pro, προ, apo, απο,* and *mechru, μεχρυ,* had in many instances been more explicitly defined.

Complaints, however, seem out of place, for in English we are just as careless. Our use of the word "up" is a sufficient illustration. "Up" should refer to a point higher than the speaker. Frequently it does not mean this. We often use the word "up" when the idea of distinction is in our mind. A gentleman said to the writer: "In England, even if a person stood on the highest mountain he would still speak of going up to Oxford."

Even in the time of Solomon, where "up" is used of distinction, some writers insist that it refers to higher and lower levels and to that only, which is an error.

Public works of Uzziah

The towers built by Uzziah in Jerusalem were a part only of the public works inaugurated by this king. He had a large army and was famous not only for his military skill but for the invention of special engines for use in the defence of cities. He was renowned for his conquests. The entire country to the southwest, south, and southeast of his kingdom was subdued by him. This included the Mediterranean seaboard with its wealthy Philistine cities, the Arabian dominions to the Gulf of Akaba, and all the land of Edom. The aspect of this vast territory was then widely different from what it is at present. It had many important cities and strongholds, and a large warlike population which required for its subjugation a powerful army. Uzziah set about improving this region for agriculture; his vine dressers cared for the vineyards in the uplands; his husbandmen tilled the fruitful fields; and his herdsmen watched his

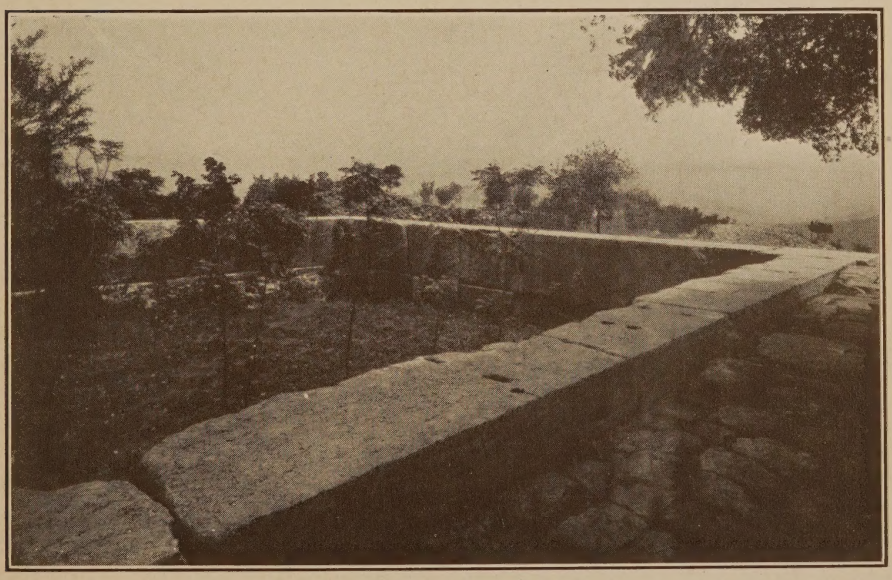
flocks and herds which pastured on the plains. The "shephelah," or foothills, and the "mishor," that is, the great plains, either level or rolling, were both suitable for pasturage or tillage. Important points were fortified, or re-fortified, with castles, and he excavated (*broke out, cut,* or *dug out* in the rock) many cisterns so that there should be an ample supply of water (2 Chron. xxvi. 10). This work of developing the country and providing means of defence was carried on by Jotham, Uzziah's son (2 Chron. xxvii. 4).

The word for "digged," in connection with cisterns, shows that men broke their way down into or through rock until water was found, or until the chamber was sufficiently large to hold a supply which would percolate through the strata from hidden sources in the mountains. Very many of the so-called "wells" still existing in these regions were sunk or "broken out" till natural water was reached. A good illustration of the work of Uzziah in digging wells is at hand in Bir Eyub, south of Jerusalem. This is 125 feet deep. Counting from the bottom upwards, 57 feet were excavated ("broken out") in the rock. Above that there are 30 feet of *large massive masonry.* The remainder, 38 feet, was built of smaller stones.

Both these kings had in their great predecessor, Solomon, a conspicuous example of a public-spirited ruler who made generous provision for the prosperity of his kingdom. Centres of traffic were created, great storehouses established, routes of commerce were opened, and forts were built in the interior and fortresses on the border that there might be protection and safety everywhere (2 Chron. viii. 3-6). The notices of Solomon's works are very brief, but their historical accuracy and importance is not thereby invalidated. Among the notices of regions where Solomon built store cities and castles, the Lebanon is mentioned. Not far from the well-known village of Brummana in the Lebanon mountains, occupying a commanding position which

MONOLITHIC PILLARS AT DEIR EL KALA

In the Lebanon near Brummana. Height above ground, 18 feet; diameter, 5 and 6 inches. Remains of 8 of these columns are visible.



DEIR EL KALA IN THE LEBANON NEAR BRUMMANA

Remains of an ancient Phœnician temple composed of massive blocks of masonry

overlooks Beirut and a great deal of the surrounding country, there is a place called Deir el Kalâ. Here exist the remains of what is thought to have been a Phœnician temple, and in all Syria and Palestine there is scarcely a more imposing ruin. It is 105 feet long, 54 feet wide, and its gigantic walls and columns fill one with wonder. The Illustrations show the walls, and sections of two columns. In connection with the dimensions of this ruin it is interesting to note, to mention but two other examples, that Solomon's House of the Forest of Lebanon was 53 cubits by 100 cubits, and that the palace at Arak el Emir is 63 feet wide and 126 feet long; the length in each of these three structures being double the width.

It is not pretended that Solomon had anything to do with the buildings anciently erected on this summit. These massive blocks of masonry were created and placed in position by Phœnician workmen, and beginning with the tenth century before Christ no scholar is able to distinguish between Phœnician work and Jewish work. There were not two styles, but one. The workmen of the two peoples labored together in the same forest or in the same quarry. Both peoples had the same passion for monolithic columns and for massive or gigantic blocks of stone; and did any remains of Solomon's works still exist in the Lebanon, they would be of the character shown in the remains of this ancient temple.

CHAPTER XXX

BUILDING AND REBUILDING

Building and rebuilding

In such a simple and familiar word as "build" one would not suppose that important archæological questions could be involved. For example, in 1 Kings ix. 17 we read, "And Solomon built Gezer." If nothing more were said about it, the inference would be that Solomon built a city upon a certain site and called it by this name, as one item in the beautifying or strengthening of his dominions. This fact would be accepted as the beginning of Gezer. But other records show that this conclusion is not correct, and that the word "built" actually means rebuilt.

Besides Gezer there are many other instances, among which may be mentioned Jericho, Shechem, Elath, Bethlehem, Heshbon, and the "waste cities" of Amos ix. 14.

The Hebrew word *banah,* בנה, *to build,* occurs a great number of times, but it is never rendered "rebuild" even where rebuild is certainly meant, and it is curious that this word is not found in the English of the Old Testament. Banah therefore means both to build and to rebuild. Once or twice it is rendered repaired, built again, or built up again. In Nehemiah, where a great deal of rebuilding is recorded, banah usually means rebuild, even where it is rendered built; but the common word in Nehemiah is *khazak,* חזק, used thirty or forty times, which is rendered "repaired."

In such cases as David's Palace, Solomon's Palace, Solomon's House of the Forest of Lebanon, and the Temple, the word "build" in each case has no second idea, but means a new edifice on new ground.

In 1 Kings ix. 24 it is said, "then did he build Millo," referring to Solomon; and in 1 Kings xi. 27, "Solomon

built Millo." Here, as in the case of Gezer, one would naturally suppose that on new ground, where nothing of the kind existed before, Solomon erected a new structure and gave it the name of Millo; but this is not correct, for Millo existed before David captured the place from the Jebusites. Hence the word means rebuild, fortify, strengthen.

In the case of Ophel, whether "wall" or "tower" is meant, 2 Chron. xxvii. 3 and xxxiii. 14, the writer has filled out or explained the record so that there can be no question that on a certain structure already existing Jotham built much, and sixty, or probably eighty years later, Manasseh also built much. The work, whatever it was, was carried on by successive kings. So that "built" means rebuilt. There is the best reason for supposing that this rule of successive work ought to be applied to the wall and to many of the structures of Jerusalem. It seems certain that not sufficient attention has been paid to this fact.

Even in Josephus the Antonia is spoken of as "a work of Herod" (V. v. 8), and in a sense this is correct. In the long description of this tower there is not a hint to indicate that on this site anything had previously stood. It was an unoccupied site and the structure was new. From other records, however, we learn that Antonia was the successor of a famous tower called Baris, which Herod "fortified more firmly than before" (*Antiq.,* XV. xi. 4). In another place it is said that "he rebuilt it" (*Antiq.,* XVIII. iv. 3), which is precisely what was done.

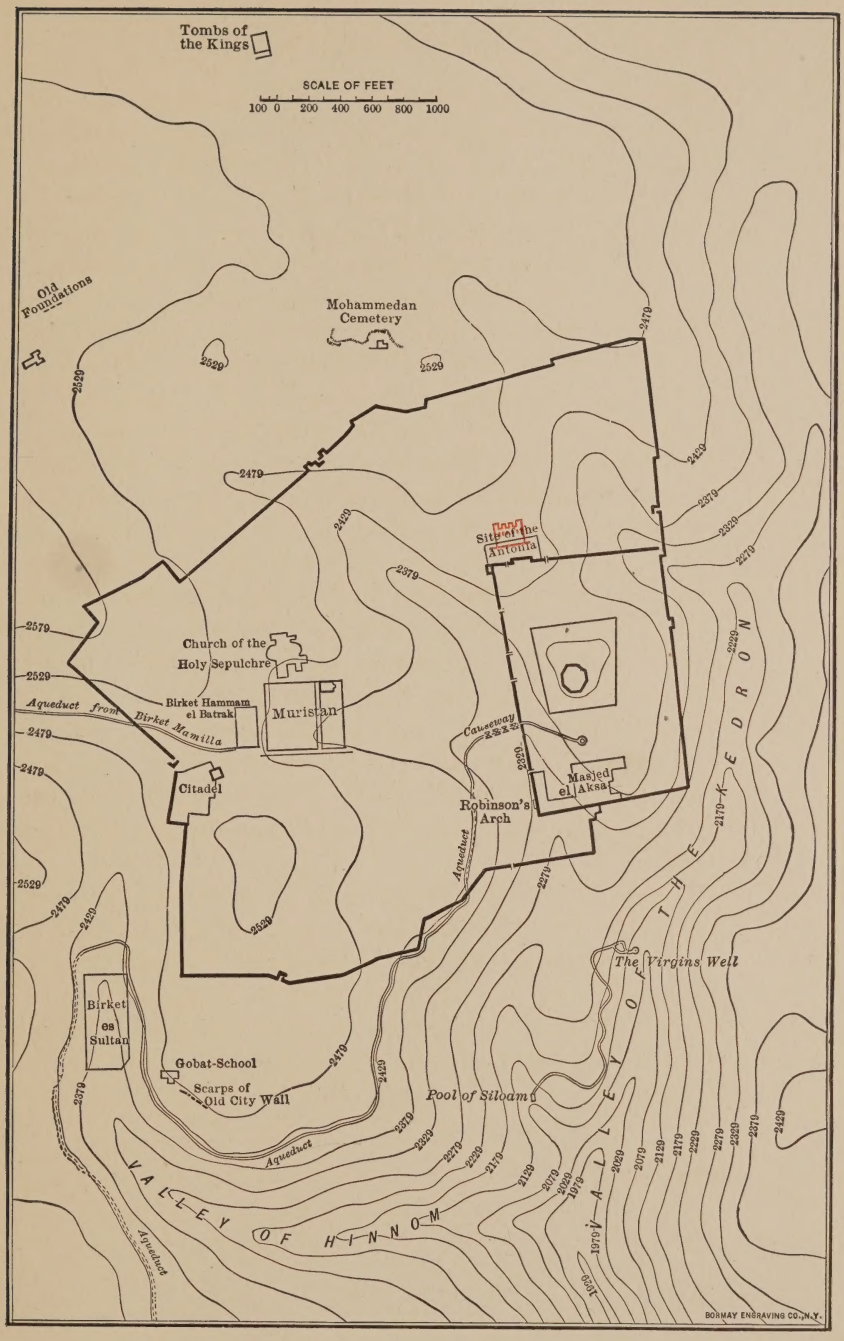
Thus we find that Antonia, the great fortress of Roman times, had a predecessor named Baris, which for a long period was both fortress and royal residence; and this likewise, we have reason to believe, had a predecessor named Hananeel which, centuries before, stood on or very near this site (Neh. iii. 1).

Herod the Great "erected" three strong castles,—Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne,—remains of which still

exist near the Jaffa Gate (V. iv. 3), but these also had one or more predecessors, for, 750 years before Herod, Uzziah built a Tower at this very point (2 Chron. xxvi. 9. See *ante,* Chapters IX. and XXIX.).

A good illustration of the point now being considered is found in *Antiq.,* XII. v. 4, where the deeds of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, are recorded. This king was in Jerusalem in B.C. 168, and it is said that "he built a citadel in the Lower City and fortified it with high walls and towers." "He put into it a garrison of Macedonians." This citadel is the Acra so famous in the history of the Maccabees. Had we no other records, we should consider this citadel as a new construction of Antiochus. On the contrary, we find that as early as 200 B.C. this citadel was occupied by an Egyptian garrison and that it was then just as important in the defences of the city as it was later when it is said to have been "built" by Antiochus. If two centuries before Christ it was the stronghold of Jerusalem, we have no right to suppose that it sprang at once into existence; and there is every reason to believe that it is to be carried back into the early history of the city, and was the stronghold of the Jebusites, the Zion and the Millo of David.

Under this head of building and rebuilding of important structures that succeeded to other structures of a similar character, we have to consider the wall said to have been built by Manasseh, and the means of supplying the city with water; for example, the Pool of Hezekiah, and the Aqueduct or the work, whatever it was, of Pontius Pilate, and possibly some other matters.



TOWER OF ANTONIA

CHAPTER XXXI

THE TOWER OF ANTONIA

Its Part in Titus' Plan of the Siege—Defended by John—Rebuilt by Herod the Great—Residence of Commander of Legion during the Life of Our Lord—Number of Roman Troops Necessary to Guard the City

Tower of Antonia—its position

THE position of this famous stronghold is perfectly well known. It was north of the Temple and at the northwest angle of the Temple area where the northern and the western colonnades of the Temple area joined (V. v. 8). It projected to the north of the northern colonnade, but when the entire length of the exterior wall of the Temple area was given, it was included in the measurement (V. v. 2). Josephus' "fourth hill," the hill of the New City, lay to the north of it (V. iv. 2). It was the terminus of the Second Wall (V. iv. 2). It was through the Antonia that Titus planned to capture the Temple, which plan was successfully carried out (V. vi. 2). The Antonia was, however, entirely covered by Agrippa's Wall, which to Titus was the First Wall, so that he could not attack it or approach it until the First Wall had been captured and the New City subdued.

Part during siege of First Wall

It is very significant that Antonia played no part in the taking of the First Wall. It was because it was not then accessible. The First Wall ran far to the north and considerably to the east of it; and was manned exclusively by the troops of Simon, for the territory of John did not extend to the north of Antonia, and it was only by permission of Simon that some of John's troops were allowed to come from the Antonia to the First Wall and assist in its defence (V. vi. 3, 4).

The New City lay between the Antonia and the First Wall; and after Florus had entered the gates of this wall there was a great struggle between his troops and the Jews in a mad rush through the New City, each party "straining every nerve" to reach first and take possession of Antonia (II. xv. 5). The fact that the First Wall must be entered and the New City crossed before reaching the Antonia is confirmed by the experience of Cestius, who, a few months later than Florus, made an attack upon the north side of Jerusalem (II. xix. 4).

After the First Wall had been captured, Antonia was for the first time exposed to the attacks of the Romans. The first mention of it in the siege of Jerusalem is in connection with the capture of the Second Wall. Even after the First Wall and the New City were in his power, Titus, whose general plan of the siege did not change from the beginning to the end, did not attack the Antonia. He faced both the Antonia and the Second Wall, but for some reason he decided to capture the Second Wall before he attacked Antonia. For this there was a good and sufficient reason.

Explanation

We will first draw an east and west line through the Tower of Antonia. Now if the Second Wall stood where some writers assert, Titus in his attack upon it would have been to the south of that line; and as the ground was low, and as the Antonia was high, the Jews from it could have annoyed him greatly and perhaps have stopped his operations. There is no hint that he was hindered in any such way. If, however, we place the Second Wall quite far to the north of this east and west line, we have the best reason and the most natural one why he should wish to get it out of the way by capturing it before he attacked the Antonia. It was an obstacle seriously in the way of his plan of approaching the Temple through the Antonia.

The Antonia played no part in the defence of the Sec-

ond Wall or in the attack upon it, except that it was manned by the troops of John, to whose territory it belonged. There was no siege of the Second Wall, only desultory fighting between the Jews and the Romans (V. vii. 3). When that wall was taken Titus turned his attention to Antonia, which he became master of only after repeated strenuous and costly efforts.

A.D. 66-70 held by the Jews

In the serious troubles of the year A.D. 66, before war actually broke out between the Jews and the Romans, the Jews got possession of Antonia, massacred the garrison, and set the castle on fire. The damage done by this fire must have been repaired, since, during the siege, this fortress played a very important part in the defence of Jerusalem. When Titus approached the city the Antonia was, as it had been for four years preceding, entirely in the hands of the Jews. At its capture by the Jews in A.D. 66, a considerable number of war engines fell into their hands which were of great service to them during the siege (V. vi. 3). At first the Romans erected two mounds at Antonia which were destroyed by the Jews; later they erected four mounds "of immense magnitude" and at last took the place, which Titus ordered to be destroyed (V. ix. 2; xi. 4; xii. 4; VI. ii. 1, 7). The ruins afforded him an excellent point whence to watch and direct the different battles in the Temple area and in the Temple itself until that was destroyed by fire (VI. ii. 5, 6; iv. 4, 5). The details given show that Antonia was very much higher than the Temple area (VI. ii. 5), and the details of the construction of the mounds on the north show that on that side it was much higher than the ground at that point (V. xi. 4).

Always occupied by a Roman legion

The importance of this fortress is shown by the fact that Varus placed here an entire legion of Roman troops when, after the death of Herod the Great, he was leaving Jerusalem for Antioch (II. iii. 1), "the legion that had formerly been there" (II. v. 1); and by the

statement that "in Antonia there was always quartered a Roman legion" (V. v. 8). Also by the fact that the guards for the Antonia itself, the Temple, and the Lower City were always stationed in Antonia (V. v. 8), the Upper City having its own fortress, which was Herod's Palace (V. v. 8).

Its date

The Tower of Antonia is always spoken of as having been built by Herod the Great. But in this as in a number of important cases the word "built" should always be taken as rebuilt. The structure that stood on this site was, it is certain, rebuilt by Herod on a grand scale and called Antonia from his friend Antony. As Herod came to his throne in B.C. 37 and the battle of Actium occurred in B.C. 31, when Antony was defeated, Herod, who soon after transferred his allegiance to Octavius Augustus, must have done this work between the years B.C. 37 and B.C. 31. Some time between these six years the Tower of Antonia had its beginning.

Description as rebuilt by Herod

"It was built upon a rock fifty cubits high and on every side precipitous. First, the rock was covered from the base upwards with smooth stone flags, as well for ornament as that any one who attempted to ascend or descend might slip off. (See Illustration.) Next, and in front of the edifice itself, there was a wall of three cubits; and within this the entire space occupied by the Antonia rose to an altitude of forty cubits. The interior resembled a palace in extent and arrangement, being distributed into apartments of every description and for every use, with cloistered courts and baths, and spacious barracks for the accommodation of troops, so that its various conveniences gave it the semblance of a town, and its magnificence that of a palace.

"The general appearance of the whole was that of a tower, with other towers at each of the four corners, three of which were fifty cubits high, while that at the southeast angle rose to an elevation of seventy cubits,

so that from thence there was a complete view of the Temple. Where it adjoined the colonnades of the Temple, it had passages leading down to both, through which the guards—for in the fortress there always lay a Roman legion—descended and disposed themselves about the colonnades, in arms, at the festivals, to watch the people and repress any insurrectionary movement" (V. v. 8).

Succeeded Baris

While the Antonia itself was the work of Herod the Great, so that he could be thought of as the builder (V. v. 8), it was really a more ancient castle on this site which he reconstructed (I. xxi. 1). Taking a step backward in the history of this famous fortress, the Greek names of the different structures present themselves for consideration. Antonia is always described as *phrourion*, φρουριον, while its predecessor Baris is called by its own name, and rarely is the explaining word *phrourion* applied to it (*Antiq.*, XIII. xvi. 5). *The name "acra" is never applied to either.* Baris guarded the Temple and the city on the north. Herod the Great, who besieged Jerusalem in B.C. 37, and Pompey, who besieged it in B.C. 63, both approaching it from the north, had opposed to them the castle called Baris.

Acra, ακρα, is a citadel built on a high commanding rock overhanging or overlooking a town.

Acropolis, ακροπολις, means a fortified place that is situated high. It may sometimes refer to the entire city; to the part of a city that is used chiefly for defence; the highest part of a city.

Baris, βαρις, connected with the Hebrew Birah, means both a palace and a fortress. The predecessor of Antonia north of the Temple was a baris. John Hyrcanus lived in the baris. Priestly vestments were kept there and public records.

Eruma, ερυμα, not much used, a fortress serving also as a residence. Alexander Janneus captured a place called Amathus, "the strongest fortress, *eruma*, of those

east of the Jordan, where Theodorus the son of Zeno lived" (*Antiq.*, XIII. xiii. 3). Eruma is used in a general sense of all the fortified places in the region of Joppa (*Antiq.*, XIV. xv. 1).

Purgos, πυργος, is a tower on a wall; not a castle or fortress.

Phrourion, φρουριον, means a hill-fort, a castle, that is garrisoned. Also a large fortified palace. The phrourion of Gamala is mentioned as being captured by Alexander Janneus (*Antiq.*, XIII. xv. 3). Masada was a phrourion, a storehouse of provisions and arms, and also a residence. This was a mountain peak strongly fortified and inaccessible on three sides, south, east, and north (*Antiq.*, XIV. xv. 1). To Alexandrium, which was also a phrourion, nearly the same language could, because of its peculiar situation, be applied (I. vi. 5). Antonia, the successor of Baris north of the Temple, is always called a "phrourion." On one occasion the Samaritans complained to Darius that "the Jews fortified the city and built the Temple more like to a citadel, phrourion, than a temple" (*Antiq.*, XI. iv. 6). Phrourion sometimes means the garrison instead of the fortress.

Our English word castle means both a fortress and a dwelling. Baris and phrourion have the same meaning. When did the phrourion Antonia cease to be not only a fortress but also a residence for governors and military commanders? Had it ceased to be so at the time of the crucifixion of our Lord?

Baris the residence of John Hyrcanus

The castle Baris, a rectangular structure situated north of the Temple, was well fortified and considered a place of strength. Twice it is referred to by the term "acropolis," the high strong fortress of Jerusalem, for such it then was (*Antiq.*, XIV. i. 2; XV. xi. 4). It was built by the Asmonean kings, but in this case as in some others we should read rebuilt for "built." The name also is said to have been given by them. "These kings were

High Priests before Herod and in Baris they deposited the priestly vestments which the High Priest was to wear at the time of sacrifice" (*Antiq.*, XV. xi. 4). In another account it is said that "the High Priest John Hyrcanus, the first of that name, built Baris near the Temple and generally resided in it and kept the priestly vestments with him; the same thing was continued to be done by his sons and by their sons after them" (*Antiq.*, XVIII. iv. 3). It is said that "Herod the Great fortified Baris more firmly than before in order to secure and guard the Temple" (*Antiq.*, XV. xi. 4), and also that "Herod rebuilt Baris in a magnificent manner" (*Antiq.*, XVIII. iv. 3). In both instances it is added that in honor of Antony he called it Antonia.

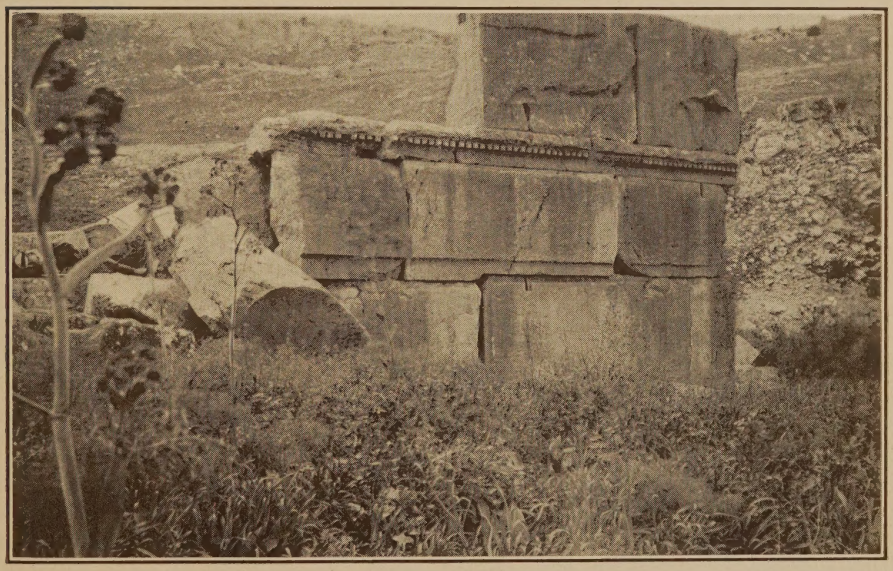
It was in Baris that Aristobulus lay sick when he ordered his brother Antigonus to be killed, B.C. 105 (I. iii. 3; *Antiq.*, XIII. xi. 2). The wife and children of Aristobulus II. were confined there (I. v. 4), which was about the time of the death of Queen Alexandra, who died in B.C. 69. When Herod captured Jerusalem, in B.C. 37, it was from Baris that Antigonus came down and surrendered (I. xviii. 2).

Date of its erection

John Hyrcanus reigned from B.C. 135 to B.C. 106, and for some years he had much trouble from the reigning Syrian kings, specially from Antiochus VII., Sidetes, B.C. 138-127. In the first year of his accession this king attacked Jerusalem and made extravagant demands upon Hyrcanus. In B.C. 127 Antiochus VII. died, and thereafter Hyrcanus enjoyed a long period of peace; his country and its affairs were prosperous, he amassed much wealth, and the Jews in Jerusalem were also very prosperous (*Antiq.*, XIII. x. 1, 4). Hyrcanus had to rebuild the walls on the north of Jerusalem which Antiochus VII. had destroyed, and it was during this period of prosperity, some time after B.C. 127, that he rebuilt Baris north of the Temple, as a fortress, as a storehouse for priestly vestments, and as a residence.

ILLUSTRATING THE "SCARP"

In Josephus' description of the Tower of Antonia, made so that those who "attempted to ascend or descend would slip off." A section of ancient work still existing in the castle near the Jaffa Gate.



REMAINS OF THE CASTLE "BARIS" OF HYRCANUS

At Arak el Emir, east of the Jordan, dating from B.C 187-176. Boss on stones is smooth. Height of course, 8 feet. Dimensions of 3 largest stones as follows: 17 feet 4 inches long, 8 feet wide, 2 feet 8 inches thick; 20 feet long, 10 feet wide; 25 feet long, 8 feet wide, 2 feet 3 inches thick. Stones in Mosque at Hebron and in Temple at Jerusalem to be compared with these.

Its character and purpose

There is in *Antiq.*, X. xi. 7, a long account of a baris at Ecbatana in Media "which was an elegant structure and wonderfully made," and from it we glean two or three particulars illustrating the purposes of this kind of castle. It is said that "the kings of Media, of Persia, and of Parthia were buried in it." It contained also the public records, and among these Darius on one occasion made diligent search and found an edict that had been issued by Cyrus, his predecessor, in favor of the Jews rebuilding their Temple at Jerusalem (*Antiq.*, XI. iv. 6).

Returning to Palestine we may go east of the Jordan to a place called Arak el Emir and examine the massive remains of a baris dating from nearly 200 years before our era. This castle was erected by Hyrcanus, the son of Joseph and the grandson of Tobias, during or perhaps just before the reign of Seleucus Philopator B.C. 187-176. "It was a strong fortress, built entirely of white stone, and had animals of prodigious magnitude engraved upon it." The account of it is full and the details are interesting. Some of the great stones are still in position, with the sculptured animals still in good preservation. This castle is called Baris (*Antiq.*, XII. iv. 11). (See Illustration.)

A baris, therefore, was a castle containing ample space, strongly fortified, with battlements and towers; in one case it was the burial place of kings; it was a storehouse, a treasure house, and the depository of public records; it was the residence of royalty or of other high officials; and in the case of Jerusalem, it was for a long period the place where the priestly vestments were kept.

Custody of the priestly vestments

It is extremely interesting to learn that the vestments of the priests were kept in Baris after its erection or rebuilding by John Hyrcanus down to the time of Herod the Great, and later until some time in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, when the custody of them was granted

to the Jews. After the death of Agrippa I., A.D. 44, the Roman governor of Syria demanded that the vestments be restored to his care; but the Jews, appealing to the Emperor Claudius, obtained permission to keep them in their own hands. This was a long period, embracing 150 to 160 years. While they were in the custody of the Romans they were kept under two seals, that of the High Priest and that of the Roman commander of the fortress, Baris—Antonia. The process of sealing and comparing seals had to be gone through every time they were used. The entire section of this chapter in Josephus is devoted to an account of Baris and Antonia, the sacred vestments being kept there so many years and the High Priests going up to the commander of the fortress to obtain the vestments for any particular feast when they were to be used (*Antiq.*, XVIII. iv. 3).

It is perfectly clear and very significant that the commander of the Roman troops, the legion assigned to Jerusalem, resided in the Antonia during the life of our Lord. The commander of the garrison and fortress to whom the High Priest had to go for the vestments is called *phrourarchos*, φρουραρχος (*Antiq.*, XV. xi. 4).

In studying New Testament events it is necessary to bear in mind the character of Baris, which was both a castle and a palace—that is, it was the residence of the ruler of the province as well as of the military commander. When it was rebuilt by Herod the Great its character was not changed. It remained both fortress and palace. Those who claim that the Governor did not reside here, but did reside in Herod's Palace, are bound to show when this change was made and the reasons for it.

Number of troops required to guard Jerusalem

Some writers, as if desirous of minimizing everything pertaining to Jerusalem, allow to it for preserving order and quelling outbreaks only a handful of Roman troops. The object to be gained by this course is not apparent. But it is asserted that "in Jerusalem there lay only one

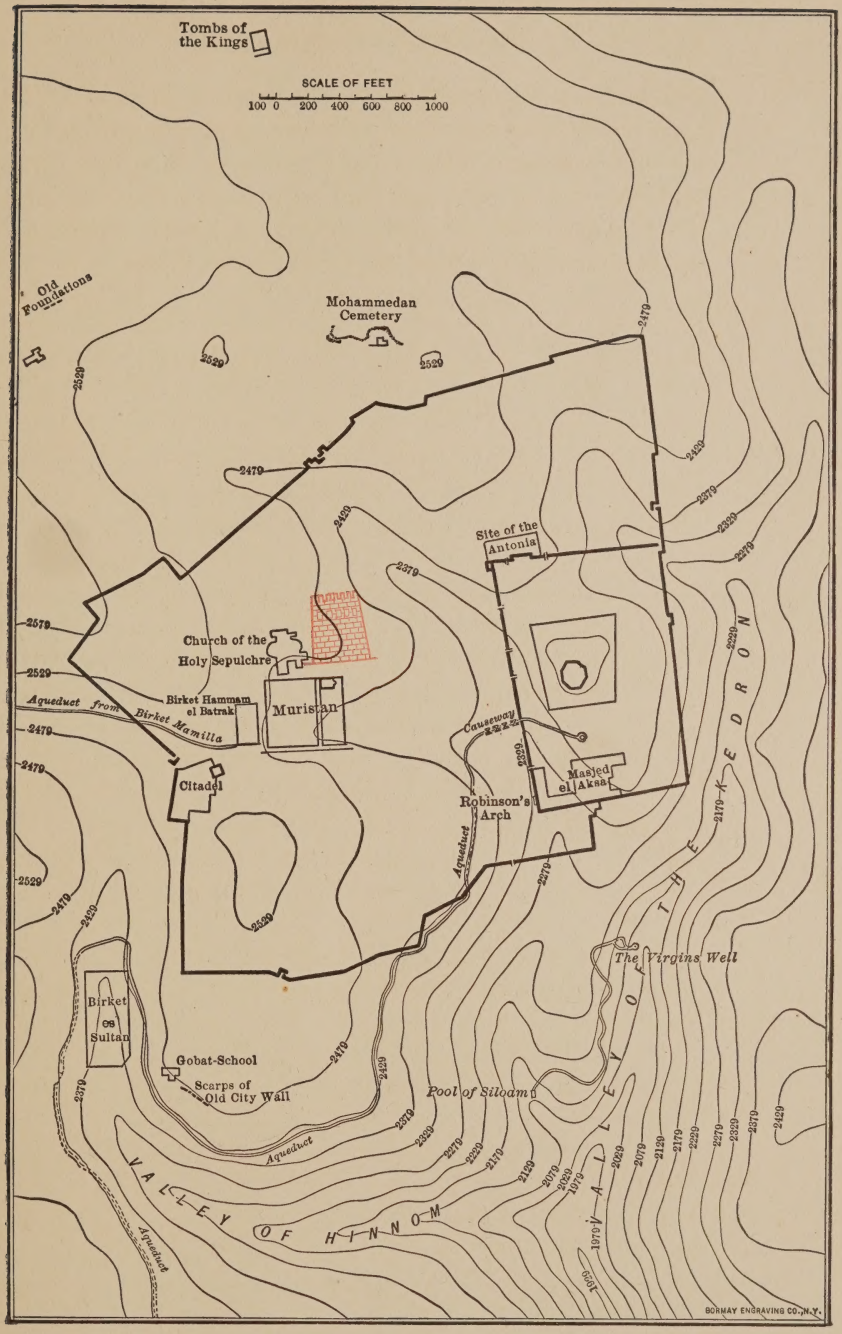
cohort." "In Josephus, *Wars,* V. v. 8, *tagma,* ταγμα, means a cohort and not a legion" (*Schurrer,* i. 464; Edit. 1901). A cohort, *speira,* σπειρα, consisted of about 600 men. All authorities agree that in Acts x. 1 this number represented the number of troops at Cesarea. This was the seaport of Jerusalem. When St. Paul, after being rescued from the Jewish mob by the Roman soldiers, as related in Acts xxiii., was sent to Cesarea, a body of 480 men accompanied him. If there was in Jerusalem "only one cohort," there were left, after this detail had been made, about 120 men to guard the city. It is beyond reason to consider such a thing as even possible. As to the use of the words *tagma,* legion, and *speira,* cohort, the best available authority states that "speira is almost uniformly the equivalent of cohors, and tagma of legio" (Smith, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq.,* p. 490, col. 2, and p. 500, col. 1). There does not seem to be any reason whatever for disputing or changing the statement of Josephus.

A comparison between the conditions existing in Jerusalem at the present time and those in the first century of our era, affords a practical illustration of the matter we are now considering. The present inhabitants of this country—Palestine and Jerusalem—are nearly all Turkish subjects, who are generally quiet and peaceable. Yet in the city a garrison of 600 men is required, which number is frequently augmented to 800; while in this district there are not far from 1,600 soldiers constantly on duty.

In the first century of our era the inhabitants of this country were Jews who, considering the size of the province, had large resources and considerable military strength. Their proud national spirit was very restless under foreign domination—that of Rome to which they were subject and which they hated. Friction between the two elements was constant, and there were frequent outbreaks against the ruling power.

To ask if the Romans would have under arms a

smaller body of men than the Turks have at present, is a very pertinent question, although such a question has but one answer. The circumstances in each case present the widest contrast, and to preserve order a very much larger body of men would have been required by the Romans than is now required by the Turks.



ACRA, THE CITADEL

CHAPTER XXXII

ACRA, OR THE CITADEL

A Most Important Feature of Jerusalem—Rise of the Maccabean Family—Greek and Egyptian Garrisons—Acra Destroyed—Name Retained and Applied to Lower City

Acra, or Citadel

DURING the late centuries of Jewish history previous to the birth of Christ, the Acra was, next to the Temple, the most important feature of Jerusalem. Its location in the city and its history, therefore, need the most careful attention. For this, some previous knowledge of the political affairs of that part of the East is necessary; and to obtain this we will take a rapid review of events beginning with the division of the empire of Alexander the Great. At this time, about B.C. 301, during the reign of Ptolemy I., Soter, Judea was or came under the dominion of Egypt. Although it nominally belonged to Egypt, her title was often disputed; and for a century there were several wars between the Egyptian and Syrian kings as to the sovereignty of Palestine.

Events subsequent to B.C. 300

Passing on to the reign of Antiochus III., B.C. 223-187, at which time Palestine belonged to Egypt, we note the following political changes:—

In B.C. 218 Antiochus III. conquered Palestine.

In B.C. 217 Ptolemy IV., Philopator, recovered it to Egypt.

In B.C. 202 Antiochus III. reconquered it from Egypt.

In B.C. 199 Scopas, the general of Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, conquered Palestine and put an Egyptian garrison into the citadel, Acra, at Jerusalem.

In B.C. 198 Antiochus III. defeated Scopas near

Paneas and drove the Egyptian garrison out of Jerusalem.

In B.C. 193 Antiochus III., in connection with the marriage of his daughter with Ptolemy V., restored Palestine to Egypt. This time the transfer of sovereignty was made without war. This arrangement continued some years until after the death of Antiochus III., which was in B.C. 187.

A little later there was another transfer, for Seleucus IV., Philopator, king of Syria, B.C. 187-176, was in possession of Palestine at the time of his death.

In B.C. 173 Ptolemy VI., Philometor, demanded the return of Palestine to Egypt, claiming that it had always been in her possession from the time of the first Ptolemy.

Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, B.C. 176-164, resented this claim, and war followed. He made four expeditions against Egypt—B.C. 171, 170, 169, 168. In B.C. 170 and again in B.C. 168 Antiochus IV. visited Jerusalem, or made expeditions against it, in both of which the Jews and Jerusalem suffered terribly.

During all these wars, Palestine "suffered greatly and the land was sorely harassed. While Antiochus III., the Great, was at war with Ptolemy Philopator and with his son who was called Epiphanes, it fell out that Cœlesyria and Palestine were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten and when he beat others; so that they were very like to a ship in a storm which is tossed by the waves on both sides; and just thus were they in their situation in the middle between Antiochus' prosperity and its change to adversity" (*Antiq.*, XII. iii. 3). From B.C. 218 to B.C. 198, a short period of only twenty years, there were no less than ten advancings and retreatings of hostile armies across Palestine—surely an afflicted land. And when we consider that for the three centuries now under consideration Palestine was the battleground of contending armies, that it was many times ravaged and its inhabitants slaughtered by hostile

invaders, and that it was not infrequently torn by internal strifes, we can only wonder that, at the advent of our Lord, Judea had not become a desert and Jerusalem a heap of ruins.

The Maccabean family

The painful history of Jerusalem during the fifty years, to limit our attention to a fixed period, previous to the accession of Antiochus IV., was only a prelude to the miseries which followed the advent of that wicked and heartless king. If one will "weep over Jerusalem," let him turn from the stones of the ancient Temple where now tears are shed, to the list of cruel deeds of the year 168 B.C., a year of tragedies and suffering sufficient to melt the stoniest heart. But the heathen rulers, powerful and cruel as they were, did not have everything their own way. The last point of endurance seems to have been when Antiochus commanded swine to be sacrificed upon the altar in the Temple. Both liberty and religion had been destroyed; the inhabitants were slaves in body and soul; gloom and despair reigned over the city. Just then there emerged from the darkness a family of heroes whose brilliant deeds made that period illustrious.

It is in this year, B.C. 168, that the Maccabees come first into notice in the person of Mattathias, a conservative reformer, who lived at Modin, a village at the foot of the mountains northwest of Jerusalem. This man, the great-grandson of a priest, was aroused to action. He slew the man who was sacrificing swine upon the altar. He taught the people that they should fight "even on the Sabbath day." His sons took up his cause, humbled the enemy in several severe battles, and achieved for the nation an honorable independence.

Mattathias died in B.C. 167.

Of his sons:

Eleazar died in battle B.C. 163.

John died in B.C. 161.

Judas died bravely in battle B.C. 160.

Jonathan was captured and killed by the enemy in B.C. 143.

Simon was murdered at Jericho in B.C. 135. He succeeded Jonathan and was the leader of the Jews from B.C. 143 to B.C. 135.

Continuing the Maccabean line: John Hyrcanus followed, B.C. 135-106; Aristobulus I., B.C. 106-105; Alexander Janneus, B.C. 106-78; Alexandra, B.C. 78-69; Aristobulus II., who died in B.C. 49; Antigonus, the opponent of Herod, killed in B.C. 37; and the last, the beautiful Mariamne, the wife of Herod the Great, whom he put to death in B.C. 29.

But for topographical details, it is the period of thirty or forty years previous to the death of Simon, B.C. 135, that we wish to study.

Their interest in family and national monuments

While the Maccabean period was one of great trial and many conflicts, it was one of great glory as well. The leaders stirred the national heart and roused their people to deeds of patriotic valor. There was developed in them, what does not seem to have been prominent in Jewish character before, a desire to honor their renowned ancestors by tangible memorials which should show to their children and their children's children their gratitude to those who had delivered them from slavery to heathen despots.

Simon, the leader in politics and the leader in battle, was also foremost in the movement for erecting lasting memorials to their own men of renown.

It was between B.C. 143-135 that he erected at Modin a family monument which was a landmark for a wide region, an object of national pride and admiration, and is described as follows:—

"Simon erected a very large monument for his father and his brethren, of white and polished stone, and raised it to a great height so as to be seen a long way off, and made cloisters about it and set up pillars which were of one stone apiece; a work it was wonderful to see. More-

over he built seven pyramids also for his parents and his brethren, one for each of them, which were made very surprising both for their largeness and beauty and which have been preserved to this day, and we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan and the building of these monuments for his relations" (*Antiq.*, XIII. vi. 6).

Simon not only erected this family monument but took the most active part in burying his brothers, although it is not stated where he himself was buried—he was murdered, we know, at Jericho. Nor is it recorded where Eleazar, who was killed in battle, or John the eldest brother, was buried.

This sentiment of honoring ancestors and public men which was so prominent in Simon, together with the example set by him in raising a monument to his family, prompted the erection of the Monument of John Hyrcanus the High Priest, and later those of King Alexander Janneus, both at Jerusalem. One was erected after the year B.C. 106, and the other after the year B.C. 78, for they could hardly have been erected during the lifetime of the men themselves. Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Janneus, reigned as queen for nine years after her husband's death,—that is, from B.C. 78 to B.C. 69,—and may have desired this monument to her husband, the people carrying out her wish. In spite of the many vicissitudes through which the Holy City passed after their erection, they remained to become prominent landmarks in A.D. 70, when Titus and his legions had camped before its walls. Between B.C. 106 and A.D. 70 the time was 176 years, and between B.C. 78 and A.D. 70 it was 148 years. Their preservation for so long a period is certainly remarkable, due perhaps to special care or accident; possibly the exigencies of war did not require their removal.

It will be most convenient to commence with the year B.C. 168 during the time of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes,

who reigned from B.C. 176 to B.C. 164. During this year Antiochus plundered the Temple of all its vast treasures, including the costly objects that had been dedicated to it; forbade the Jews to sacrifice; set up an idol on the altar, also sacrificed swine upon it; ordered altars to be set up in the villages for the sacrifice of swine, and tortured those who would not obey; strangled women and infant children; and slew a great many of the inhabitants besides carrying away ten thousand of them as captives. "He also burnt down the finest of the buildings, and when he had overthrown the city walls he built a citadel in the lower part of the city, for the place was high and overlooked the Temple, on which account he fortified it with high walls and towers and put into it a garrison of Macedonians." "The impious and wicked part of the Jewish inhabitants dwelt in the citadel." **Historical notices of Acra**

In the Greek of this quotation the word Acra is used twice. It is clear (1) that the situation of Acra was high; (2) that it overlooked the Temple; (3) that it was in the Lower City, *en tee katoo polei*, εν τη κατω πολει (*Antiq.*, XII. v. 4); (4) and that the place was very commodious. The fact that Acra was high and dominated the Temple was most fortunate for Antiochus and most unfortunate for the Jews. He comprehended at once the strategic importance of this place for his purpose of controlling the city and the Temple.

It is here stated that Antiochus IV. built this citadel; but here as in several other instances the word "built" must be understood as used for rebuilt, for in the time of Antiochus III., called the Great, B.C. 223-187, it had the same strategic importance for controlling the city that it had fifty years later in the time of Antiochus IV. (*Antiq.*, XII. iii. 3). In B.C. 199 Scopas, the general of Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, captured this citadel and placed in it a garrison of Egyptian soldiers. Some time subsequent to this the control shifted again, for in a letter written by Antiochus III. he says: "the Jews

in Jerusalem received us in a splendid manner, gave abundance of provisions to our soldiers and to the elephants, and joined with us in ejecting the garrison of the Egyptians that were in the citadel"—Acra (*Antiq.*, XII. iii. 3).

Jews annoyed by its garrison

After the death of Mattathias, B.C. 167, Judas and his other sons were successful in several engagements with the forces of Antiochus IV., so there was hope of restoring their national existence. Their first thought was for the Temple, which, through neglect, was in a terrible condition. Judas, and many of the people with him, "came to Jerusalem and found the Temple deserted, its gates burned down, and plants growing in the Temple of their own accord on account of its desertion, and they began to lament and were quite confounded at the sight." Judas, thinking he had sufficient power to make it safe for him to attempt to do so, began to purify the Temple in order to re-establish its worship; but he found the garrison in Acra a source of constant and great annoyance as well as danger; and to overcome this obstacle he began a counter attack to divert the attention of the garrison. "He chose out some of his soldiers and gave them orders to fight against those guards that were in Acra until he should have purified the Temple" (*Antiq.*, XII. vii. 6).

The guards mentioned were the Macedonian garrison, placed in Acra by Antiochus IV., and these events took place in B.C. 165, three years after Antiochus had done so much harm and two years after the death of Mattathias. A year or two later this annoyance is referred to again, and it is said that "the garrison in the Acra in Jerusalem, with the Jewish runagates, did a great deal of harm to the Jews; for the soldiers that were in that citadel rushed out upon the sudden and destroyed such as were going up to the Temple to offer their sacrifices, for the Acra lay over against the Temple." Judas therefore resolved to destroy the garrison, and got his

soldiers together "and vigorously besieged those that were in the citadel. He made engines of war, and erected bulwarks," and apparently would have succeeded had it not been that "some of the runagates who were in the place went out by night and informed Antiochus" of what was going on. Whereupon Antiochus sent an army into Judea, and Judas was obliged to abandon the siege. This was Antiochus V., Eupator, B.C. 164-162 (*Antiq.*, XII. ix. 3).

After the death of Judas Maccabeus, which occurred in B.C. 160, Bacchides, the general of Demetrius I., Soter, who reigned from B.C. 162 to B.C. 150, was in Judea with an army, and he occupied Acra with his soldiers. He fortified many cities and towns, and it is said that "he also fortified the Acra at Jerusalem more than all the rest. Moreover, he took the sons of the principal Jews as pledges and shut them up in the Acra" (*Antiq.*, XIII. i. 3).

After Judas Maccabeus was dead his brother Jonathan became the leader of the Jews, B.C. 160-143, and the Acra at Jerusalem was still occupied by the garrison of Bacchides (*Antiq.*, XIII. ii. 1).

Still later, in the time of Demetrius II., Nicator, B.C. 146-138, the foreign garrison being still very troublesome, Jonathan "levied an army out of all Judea and attacked the Acra at Jerusalem and besieged it; it was held by a garrison of Macedonians and by some of those men who had deserted the customs of their forefathers. These men at first despised the attempts of Jonathan for taking the place, as they depended on its strength." Demetrius led the army against Jonathan, but some sort of compromise was made whereby he retired; but Jonathan, on his part, did not desist from his siege of Acra (*Antiq.*, XIII. iv. 9).

Subsequently, it is said that "Jonathan, being desirous to get clear of those that were in the Acra at Jerusalem and of the Jewish deserters and wicked men, as well as of those in all the garrisons in the country," sent to

Demetrius II. and "entreated him to take away his soldiers out of the strongholds of Judea" (*Antiq.*, XIII. v. 2).

A war followed not long after, in which Jonathan defeated Demetrius' army in the north, and later the Nabatheans in the south. Jonathan and his brother Simon returned to Jerusalem and began to rebuild what had been destroyed; and as the garrison, besides other lawless acts, were plundering the people, especially those in the Lower Market, the two brothers formed a plan by which their power of doing mischief might be curtailed. Accordingly, in addition to other building, they decided "to construct another wall in the midst of the city in order to exclude the Market-place from the garrison which was in the Acra, and by that means to hinder them from obtaining a supply of provisions" (*Antiq.*, XIII. v. 11). After Tryphon had usurped the kingdom, B.C. 142, the Acra garrison appealed to him for help; "those that were in the Acra sent to Tryphon and besought him to make haste and come to them and to send them provisions" (*Antiq.*, XIII. vi. 6). This appeal shows that the plan of Jonathan and Simon for cutting off the supply of provisions from the garrison had been successful. (See Illustration of the remains of this wall in Chapter XXXVIII.)

Destruction of Acra

Simon Maccabeus, B.C. 143-135, after the death of his brother Jonathan, became the leader of the Jews. "In the very first year of his reign" it is said that he "set his people free from their slavery under the Macedonians." One of his earliest acts was to rid the city of its foreign garrison and to destroy the citadel itself. Accordingly, he "took the Acra of Jerusalem by siege and cast it down to the ground, that it might not be any more a place of refuge to their enemies when they took it to do them mischief, as it had been till now."

Simon thought the best way to eradicate this evil entirely was to remove the hill itself. After consulting

the people to ascertain if they were willing, this course was decided upon. He "put them in mind what miseries they might hereafter suffer in case any foreigners should obtain the kingdom and put a garrison into the citadel." "So they all set themselves to work and levelled the mountain, and in that labor spent both day and night without intermission, which cost them three whole years before it was removed, and brought it to an entire level with the plain of the rest of the city." It is added that "after the citadel and the hill itself had been demolished the Temple was the highest of all the buildings" (*Antiq.*, XIII. vi. 7).

The date of the destruction of Acra is fixed at 140 B.C., but the name did not go out of existence. It was or became identified with a certain quarter of Jerusalem, and continued thus till the time of Titus, A.D. 70, when it was the well-known and common name of that part of the city. From B.C. 140 to A.D. 70 is a period of 210 years. We can trace the name back beyond B.C. 140 to at least 200 B.C., thus prolonging the period of its known existence to well-nigh three centuries. At the beginning of this period it seems to have been as well known as it was at its very close. Did the name Acra suddenly spring into existence? In the light of the history attached to it such a question can receive only a negative answer. Something went before the earliest date here given.

The situation of affairs in Jerusalem during the period we are now considering seems almost incredible—namely, the Temple in possession of the Jews and the ordinary services actually going on, some other parts of the city in their possession also, and all the time Acra in the hands of a foreign and hostile garrison. This fact will only cease to be an anomaly when we bear in mind the vast difference between ancient and modern warfare. In ancient times a large proportion of warfare was hand to hand work. Even in sieges the combatants on both sides talked freely with each other, even while

they were fighting; so that there is nothing strange in the fact that at Jerusalem the Citadel was held by one party and the Temple by the other.

Meaning of the word Acra

The word Acra means properly summit, peak, top of a hill, high headland; and in this sense it is used several times by Josephus. The meaning "citadel" is a later adaptation of its usage. On one occasion at Jericho several hundred people fled from the city "and took refuge on the top of a hill," acra (*Antiq.*, XIV. xv. 3). At another time, this was also at Jericho, "6,000 men came down from the tops of the mountains." Here acra is used in the plural. Alexandrium, a strong fortress east of Shechem near the Jordan valley, is described as situated "on the top of a mountain." The word for top is acra (*Antiq.*, XIV. iii. 4). In one case it seems to mean borders, where probably the extreme parts were thought of as high (*Antiq.*, XIV. xii. 1). Again, Herodium, which Herod fortified and which became his burial place, was on the summit of a mountain; the word for summit being acra (I. xxi. 10). At Alexandria there was an acra—the highest part of the city being meant (*Antiq.*, XII. ii. 11). Damascus had an acra (*Antiq.*, XIII. xv. 1); likewise Apamia (*Antiq.*, XIV. iii. 2).

It is interesting to find in the case of Jerusalem that its "citadel" is always called Acra. There is never any confusion in the application of the word. *It is never applied to Antonia.* In the *Antiquities*, from XII. iii. to XIII. vii, acra is used twenty-six times and in every case it means the citadel that was destroyed by Simon Maccabeus in B.C. 140. In XIII. ii. 1 acra is used twice and acropolis also twice, all within a few lines. Only one place is referred to, and "acropolis" is apparently used to avoid repeating the word acra. In XII. vi. 2 "acropolis" is used for acra, unless possibly the word refers to Jerusalem as the headquarters or chief city.

NOTE.—In describing the rebuilding of the Temple by Herod the word "acra" is used four times, always meaning the top or summit of the hill (*Antiq.*, XV. xi. 3).

Summary as to location and purpose of Acra

(1) Acra was in the Lower City. The hill of the Upper City, that of the Temple, and that of the site of Antonia—since Antonia in no way belonged to the Lower City—must be excluded.

(2) Its situation was high.

(3) It dominated the Temple. This fact is always prominent. The ground where it stood is at present 60 feet higher than the Temple area and 50 feet higher than the platform of the Temple itself. Before the cutting down of Acra the difference between the levels would be far greater, and as to the castle built on that point dominating the Temple there could be no possible question.

(4) Because it dominated the Temple, its foreign garrison was always troublesome to the Jews.

(5) Whoever controlled Acra generally controlled the entire city, although in one or two instances while the foreign garrison held Acra the Jews held the Temple.

(6) It was very near the Lower Market-place, and to prevent the garrison from plundering the people in the market a wall was built between the Market-place and Acra. There was no market-place near Antonia. There is no historical reference to any market-place on Ophel, nor could a more unsuitable spot be named for such a purpose.

(7) It was always important; the stronghold of the city from the first mention of it, about 200 B.C., until its destruction B.C. 140.

(8) It was a place of great size; all the notices of it give this impression. It could accommodate a large number of troops, and besides these many outlaws, desperadoes, and Jewish deserters resorted to it.

(9) It was of such importance that its name was preserved for over two hundred years, being transferred from the citadel after that was destroyed to the city that grew about it, that is, the Lower City.

Use of Acra in "Wars," VI. viii. 4

In the account of the capture of the Upper City the word "acra" is used, and its appearance here has led to some impossible topographical conclusions. Chief among these is the one that makes this acra a place outside and beyond the walls which the Romans were then besieging, and connected somehow with Acra, the other name for the Lower City. These mistakes might have been avoided by careful study of the history of this word and the discriminating use made of it in Josephus' histories. The Latin version, wherever acra in the Greek refers to the citadel of Jerusalem, translates it by *arx*. Whenever it refers to the summit or top of a hill it is translated by *vertex, summus, culmen,* or some equivalent of these words. In this instance the word is simply transferred. There may have been a doubt as to how it should have been understood, but whatever the reason may have been the result has been misleading. For,

(1) There was no citadel in the Upper City.

(2) There was none in the Lower City or anywhere else.

(3) At that time "the Acra" meant the Lower City.

(4) Everything outside the walls of the Upper City was in the hands of the Romans.

(5) In this case, therefore, the word acra must refer to something in the Upper City itself.

(6) Should Herod's fortified palace be thought of, this was never in all its history called *acra,* but always *phrourion.*

Hence the common meaning of the word is the proper one, that is, *top* or *summit.* "The Jews withdrew from

the walls to or towards the acra," the highest part of the Upper City (VI. viii. 4). The nature of the ground justifies this explanation, if any justification were needed. The summit would be 60 feet higher than the point where Titus' attack was made.

CHAPTER XXXIII

OPHEL

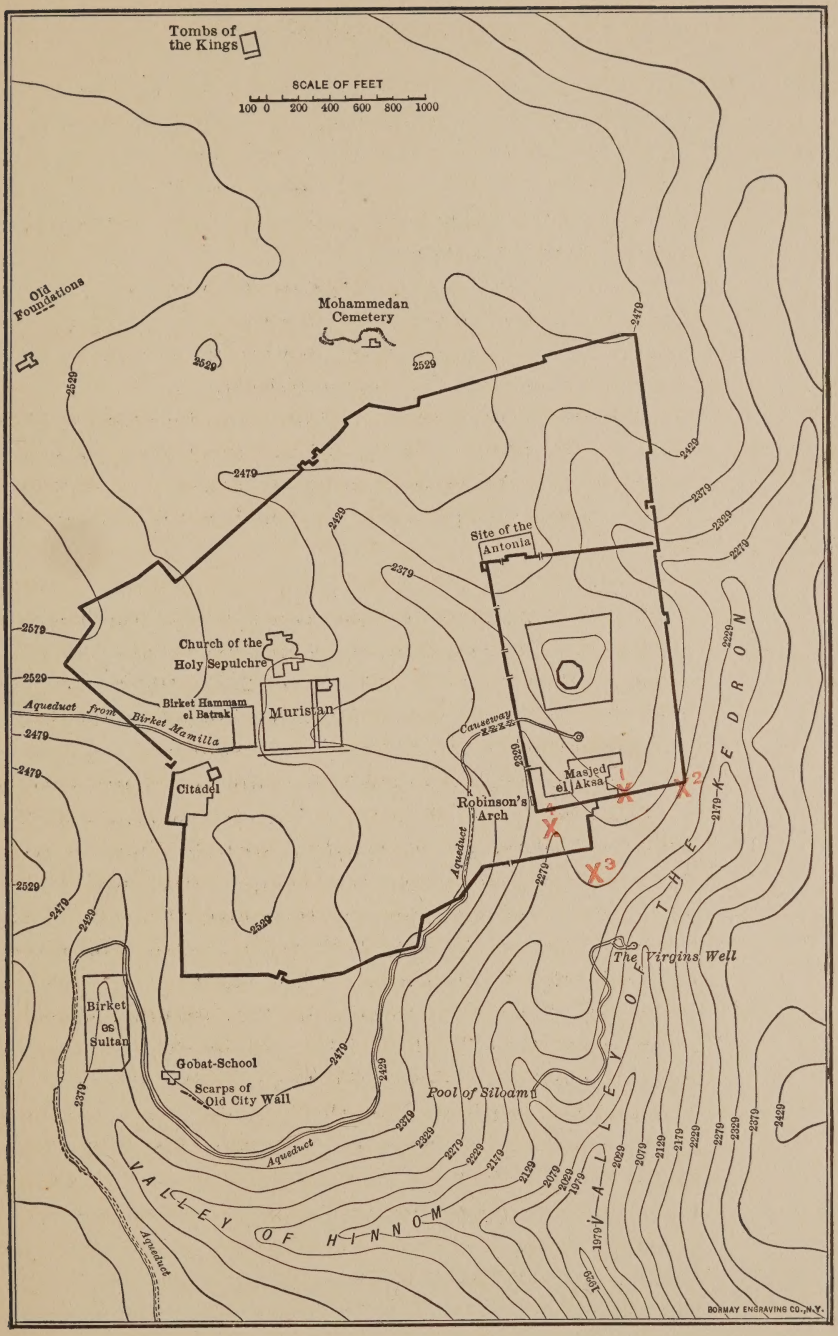
A Wall and a Tower—Small Area—An Adjunct to the Royal Palace—No Part in Siege

Ophel. Use and meaning in the Bible

CAREFUL attention must be paid to the use of the word Ophel in the Bible. It occurs fourteen times, six of which are in a special sense and do not need to be considered. Once it is translated "forts" or "clefts," but the passage has nothing to do with Jerusalem (Isa. xxxii. 14). Again it is used in a poetical sense of Jerusalem, which is called "a stronghold" (Mic. iv. 8). In 2 Kings v. 24 it is rendered "tower," marg. "secret place," referring to Samaria.

There remain five passages to be considered, two in Second Chronicles and three in Nehemiah. In 2 Chron. xxvii. 3 it is said of Jotham that "on the wall of Ophel he built much." The margin reads "tower." In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14 it is said of Manasseh that he "compassed about Ophel,—marg. "tower,"—and raised it up a very great height." In the first passage the word for "much," *robh,* רוב, is in a large majority of cases rendered "abundantly." In the second passage for "raised it up a very great height" we may translate, "he heightened it greatly." This would be a most natural thing to say of a tower.

The Hebrew word means something that rises up conspicuously, sharply, abruptly. It is an interesting fact that in all five cases we have to consider, the English translators thought of "tower." The two passages from Chronicles make it certain that whatever this structure was, at least two kings, half a century apart, labored to complete it.



OPHEL, PLAN I.

The red crosses mark the levels discussed.

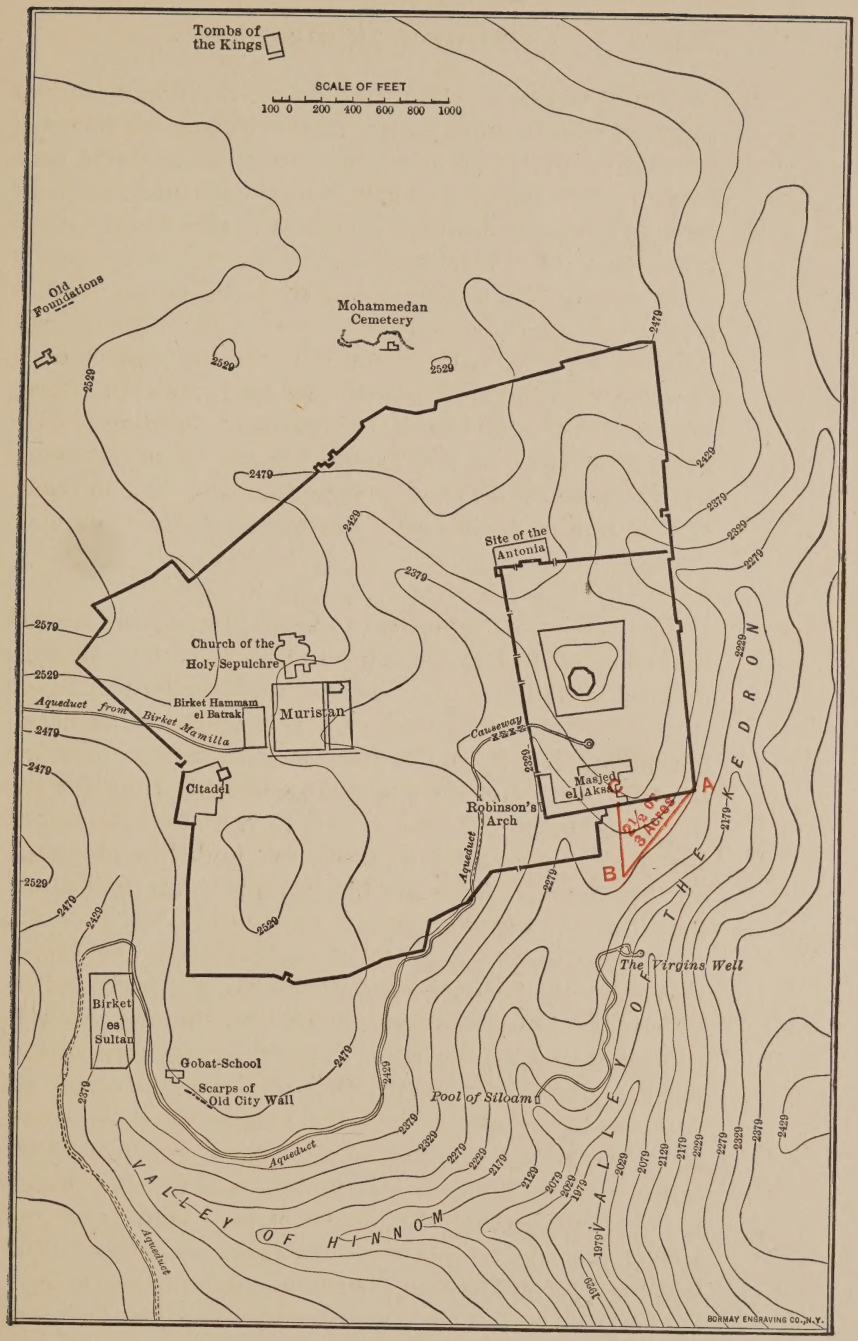
The passages in Nehemiah are, iii. 26, "the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel—marg. tower," a phrase which is repeated in xi. 21; and iii. 27, where it is used as a mark of division,—"unto the wall—marg. tower—of Ophel." These passages show us that the Nethinim, the servants of the Temple, resided in Ophel.

In all the references to Ophel the word for wall is used, while the thought of "tower" is always in the mind. The fact is that the two were in this place inextricably connected. The principal thing was the tower: but no tower could exist without first building a high strong wall on a very steep hillside and filling the space on the inside. When this was done, a vast work in itself, a foundation was prepared on which a tower could be erected.

The ridge south of El Aksa

The Level 2379 touches the south line of the Temple area about 350 feet from the southeast corner, as indicated on Plan I., x. 1. The Level 2279, 100 feet lower than the first, touches the southeast corner of the Temple area (Plan I., x. 2), runs in a southerly direction to a certain point about 500 feet directly south of the Temple area wall (Plan I., x. 3), and turns thence in a northerly direction, in nearly a straight line, towards the southwest corner of the Temple area, but at 60 feet from it bends abruptly to the south (Plan I., x. 4). The so-called "wall of Ophel" begins at the southeast corner of the Temple area (Plan II. A), and follows closely the Level 2279 to near its first turning, when it disappears (Plan II. B). The area of this triangular space is easily measured, the Ophel wall forming one line and the south wall of the Temple area the north side, except that we lose of this about 130 feet of its entire length, 930 feet, on account of the valley which runs under the southwest angle of the Temple area.

But this space does not all belong to Ophel. The eastern wall of the city, which is old, runs south from the wall of the Temple at right angles to it, and this line



OPHEL, PLAN II.

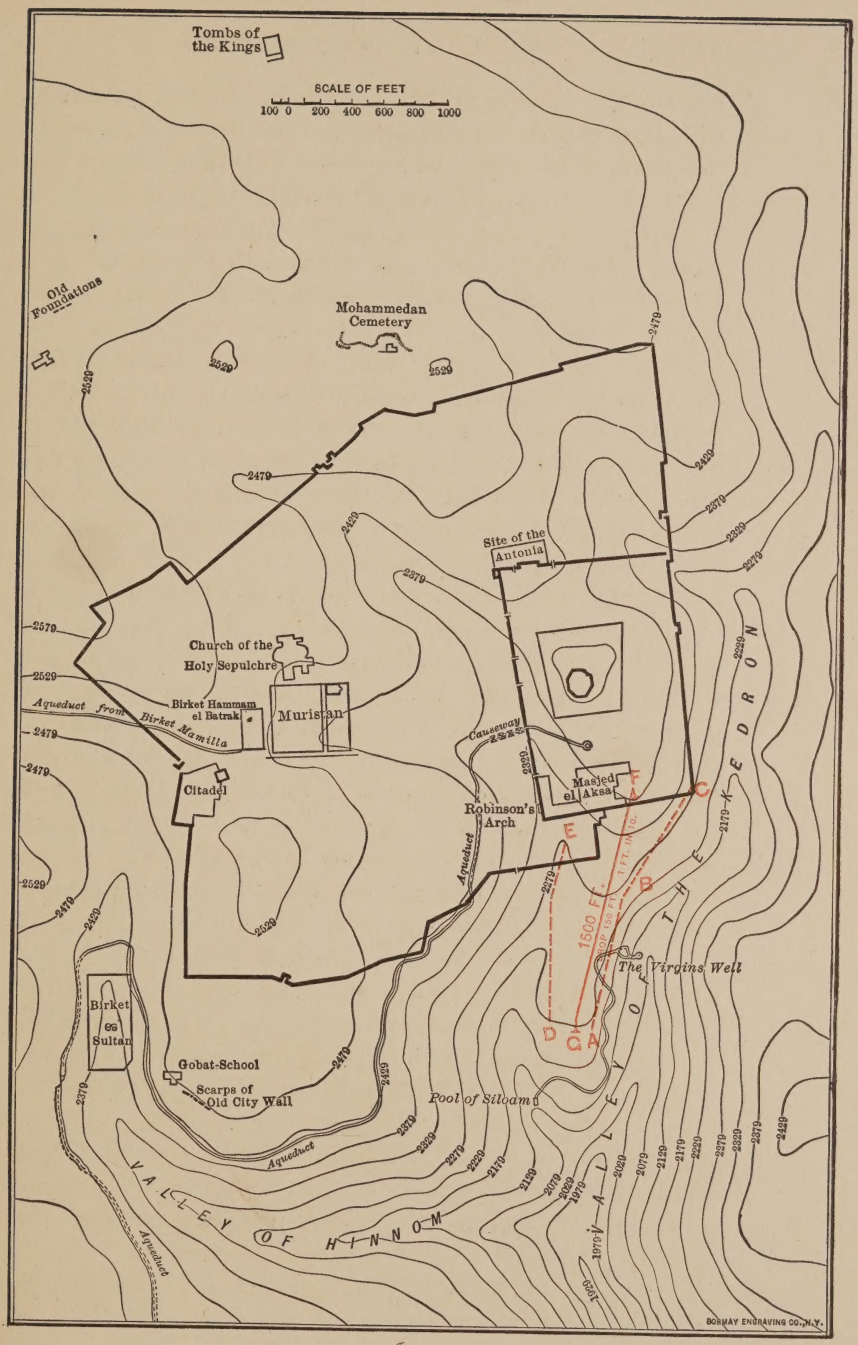
Outline and area of Ophel.

continued to the Level 2279 (Plan II. B C) would form the west side of the triangle, the area of which gives us all that properly can be reckoned to Ophel. Ophel was "a place," "a tower," which, with the ground about it, occupied only a limited space. Its greatest area is less than three acres. It is on the extreme eastern side of this two and a half acres that the Ophel Tower stood.

As to the area of this spur, we take Level 2229, east of which no building is possible (Plan III. A). Following it north for 800 feet we touch Level 2279, Plan III. B, and follow that for 800 feet to the southeast corner of the Temple (Plan III. C). No building is possible east of this line of 1,600 feet. Passing to the west side of the spur we take the same Level, 2229, Plan III. D, and follow it north for 800 feet, thence on Level 2279 in the same direction for 300 feet (Plan III. E). West of this line of 1,100 feet no building is possible. The line of this ridge does not run exactly north and south; but starting at the south wall of the Temple area at Level 2379, Plan III. F, and following down the ridge to the south a distance of 1,500 feet to Level 2229, Plan III. G, the drop is 150 feet, or one foot in ten. Measuring all the available ground suitable for building purposes on this spur, we have not less than nine and not more than thirteen acres.

Purpose of Ophel

What was the purpose for which Ophel was built? This is a fair question and one which, in studying the subject, constantly arises. It is first mentioned in the middle period of the kingdom of Judah, although no one can deny that it originated at a much earlier date. It is never said that Millo and Ophel were identical. Millo was not destroyed to make place for Ophel, for it existed in the time of Hezekiah; the two places existed simultaneously. It is nowhere intimated that Ophel was built for defence, nor is there any indication that it was ever used for such a purpose. Two great towers



OPHEL, PLAN III.

Showing the levels and the utmost possible extent of Ophel.

for defence on this spur of mountain cannot be thought of. If it was built for defence what could it defend? Certainly no enemy, nothing could approach it from the east. It could not defend the city to the north, towards the Temple, for the ground on which the Temple stands is 150 feet higher than Ophel and less than 1,000 feet distant. It could not have been built to defend the southern portion of this spur, since, in that case, it would have been placed farther to the south. Moreover, Millo would have been between it and the buildings it was to protect. The only use for this tower mentioned in the Bible was as a place of residence for the servants of the Temple. It is most unlikely that this could have been the original purpose of such a peculiar structure as Ophel.

This tower was an adjunct to the Royal Palace erected for the pleasure of those who lived in it, and as a public ornament as well. Such was the Tower Psephinus built by Herod Agrippa I.; and such to a certain degree is the present Russian Tower on the Mount of Olives. This may have afforded an outlook for the guards, or a place to visit for diversion; certainly it was a structure in which the public took pride. The entire history of this tower gives no hint contradicting the statement now made. When the Chaldeans were in Jerusalem at the final destruction of the kingdom of Judah and "the house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all the houses of the principal men were burned with fire" (Jer. lii. 13), the Ophel Tower perished with the rest or at least was ruined. A humbler structure was erected later, which, although bearing the same name, was devoted to utilitarian uses—the servants of the Temple resided there. This would be about 150 years after the destruction of the city (Neh. iii. 26, 27). In Josephus' time it had become still more obscure, it was simply "a place called Ophla."

The "king's house"—the Palace of Solomon—was situated at the north end of the Ophel ridge, and the rea-

sons for the choice of this site are given in another chapter.

Its part in the siege

Ophel, or "Ophla" as Josephus calls it, plays a very small part in the siege of Jerusalem.

(1) In the time of Florus, a certain revolutionist leader, after his followers were defeated, ran away to "a place called Ophla," whence he was dragged forth and killed (II. xvii. 9).

(2) The Old Wall bent around modern Zion on the south, and "extending to a certain place designated Ophla, joined the eastern colonnade of the Temple" (V. iv. 2).

(3) In the division of territory between John and Simon, John's jurisdiction included "the place called Ophla" (V. vi. 1).

(4) After the Temple was taken, certain portions of Jerusalem were burned; and among them was "the place called Ophla" (VI. vi. 3).

It does not appear to have been reckoned as an important part of the city; it is always spoken of as something apart by itself, a sort of outlying member, an adjunct, an appendix to Jerusalem.

If it was a stronghold why did not the Jews go there? It was never occupied by troops, it was never captured; but it could be "burned"; hence the upper portion at least was constructed largely of wood (VI. vi. 3).

At present we are accustomed to apply the name Ophel to the entire ridge south of the Temple area, but this is not correct—in fact, it never was correct.

In the siege, Ophla was "a place," and the south wall of the city reached it, but did not enclose it. Whatever it was, all the hints we have show that it was not important.

CHAPTER XXXIV

JERUSALEM A MOUNTAIN FORTRESS

Various Designations—The Name Millo—The Predecessor of Acra

Jerusalem a mountain fortress

In the earliest times Jerusalem was a mountain fortress not easy to capture.

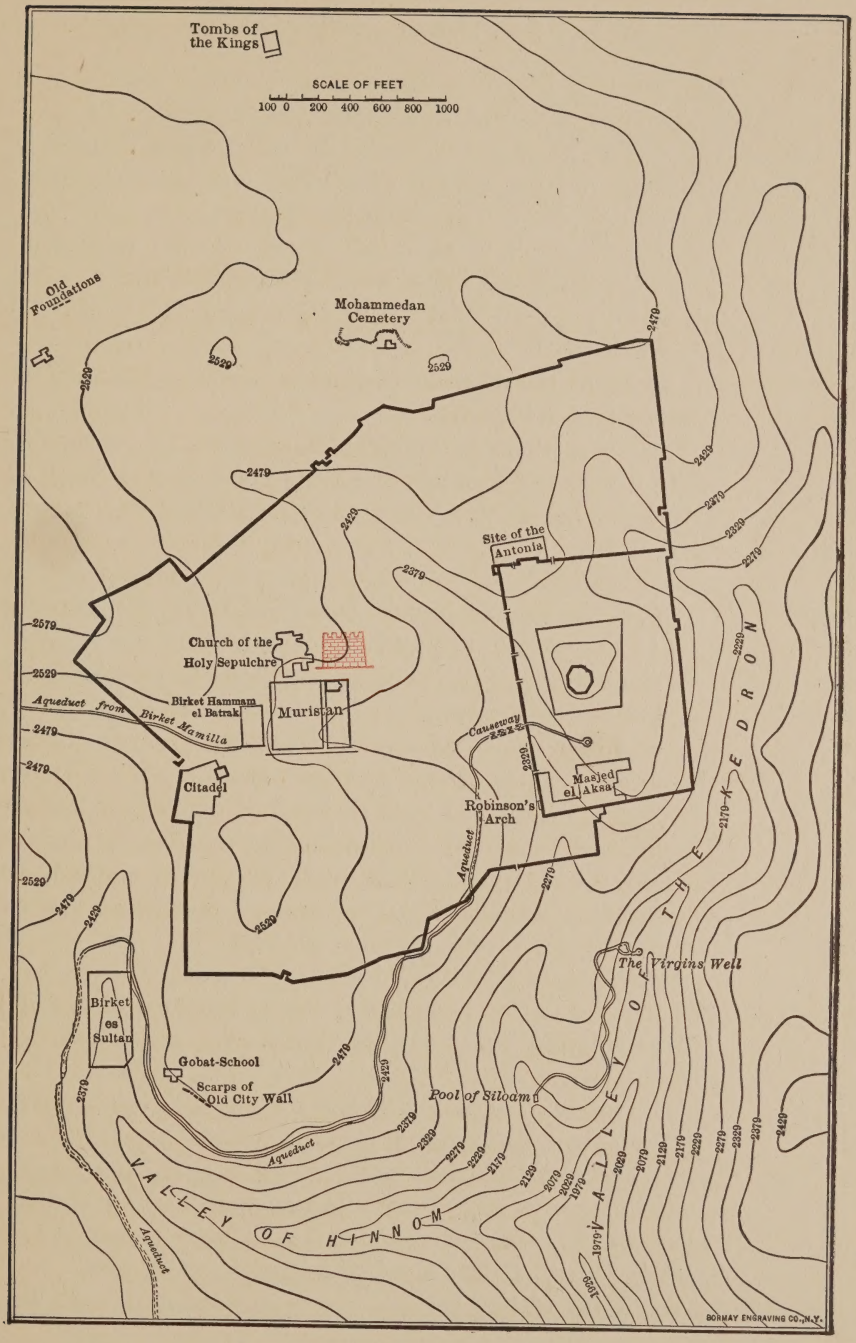
> "David took the stronghold of Zion; the same is the City of David" (2 Sam. v. 7). "David dwelt in the fort and called it the City of David" (2 Sam. v. 9). "David took the castle of Zion, which is the City of David" (1 Chron. xi. 5). "David dwelt in the castle, therefore they called it the City of David" (1. Chron. xi. 7).

The three words "stronghold," "fort," "castle" are different translations of the same Hebrew word, *mitzudah*, מצודה. The word "Zion" is used as though it was the name of this fortress before it was captured by David. After its capture the name "City of David" is applied to it. It is essential to remember that the names Zion, City of David, fort, castle, stronghold, all refer to identically the same place. If we find one we find all.

The City of David

The notices of the City of David during his life and subsequent to his death are interesting and important in fixing its site.

> When the Ark was to be brought from Kirjath-jearim, David at first "would not remove it unto him into the City of David" (2 Sam. vi. 10). Later he changed his mind "and brought the Ark of God into the City of David" (2 Sam. vi. 12). "The Ark came into the City of David" (2 Sam. vi. 16). When Solomon married his Egyptian wife "he



MILLO, CITY OF DAVID

brought her into the City of David," because his own house was not completed (1 Kings iii. 1). When her house was ready "Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the City of David unto her own house" (1 Kings ix. 24). "Solomon brought up the daughter of Pharaoh out of the City of David unto the house that he had built for her, for he said, My wife shall not dwell in the house of David king of Israel" (2 Chron. viii. 11). Solomon brought the Ark out of the City of David, which is Zion (1 Kings viii. 1).

The house where Solomon's wife had resided for many years was in the City of David, the house or palace that David had occupied. The new residence was not in the City of David.

David's Palace

"David made him houses in the City of David" (1 Chron. xv. 1); and "Hiram, king of Tyre, sent messengers to David and cedar trees and carpenters and masons,—marg. hewers of stone of the wall,—and they built David a house" (2 Sam. v. 11). The same account is repeated in 1 Chron. xiv. 1. In 2 Sam. vii. 2 David tells Nathan, "I dwell in a house of cedar, but the Ark of God dwelleth within curtains." "David walked upon the roof of the king's house" (2 Sam. xi. 2). "Uriah slept at the door of the king's house" (2 Sam. xi. 9).

David's residence was a house or palace that with the aid of King Hiram had been specially built for him, and it was situated in the City of David.

Millo

This interesting name suddenly appears in the history of Jerusalem, and after a certain period of years it as suddenly disappears altogether. When it appears it does so without any explanation or qualification of any kind, as if it were the only and well-known name of a certain place. It was situated in the City of David.

After David had reigned seven and one-half years in

Hebron he became king of all Israel, and about this time came into possession of Jerusalem by conquering it from its Jebusite inhabitants. The place was so strong that those who held it had no fear of its being taken. But

> "David took the stronghold of Zion; the same is the City of David" (2 Sam. v. 7). "David dwelt in the fort and called it the City of David; and David built round about from Millo and inward" (2 Sam. v. 9). The account of David's taking Jerusalem in First Chronicles is similar to that in 2 Sam. v. 9—namely, "David dwelt in the castle, therefore they called it the City of David; and he built the city round about, even from Millo round about, and Joab repaired the rest of the city" (1 Chron. xi. 7, 8).

Millo is also mentioned in connection with the extensive building operations of Solomon. It is said that Solomon

> "raised a levy of thirty thousand men, to build a house of the Lord, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem" (1 Kings v. 13; ix. 15). "Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the City of David unto her house which Solomon had built for her; then did he build Millo" (1 Kings ix. 24). "Solomon built Millo, and repaired the breaches of the City of David his father" (1 Kings xi. 27).

Millo is again mentioned in the time of Joash, B.C. 878-839,—corrected date B.C. 837-798,—when a conspiracy was formed against him:—

> "His servants arose and slew Joash in the house of Millo,—marg. Beth-millo,—which goeth down to Silla" (2 Kings xii. 20).

The last mention of Millo is when Sennacherib was approaching Jerusalem; it is said that Hezekiah, in making preparations to resist him,

> "built up the wall that was broken and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo in the City of David" (2 Chron. xxxii.

5), B.C. 726-698; corrected date of Hezekiah, 719-691. This event was B.C. 701 or before.

The fortifying of Jerusalem, the building of Millo, and the raising of this great army of workmen, seem to have been the cause in some way of the rebellion of Jeroboam (1 Kings xi. 27).

The name Millo is used only in the early records of Jewish history, and the period from the first mention of it to the last in the reign of Hezekiah may be reckoned, according to the marginal dates, as 335 years, or corrected date 303 years.

Millo and the building of it was a matter of great importance in the early history of Jerusalem.

The name appeared and disappeared suddenly; it was the name of a place or an object that was well known; that place or object was certainly in the City of David.

It was one of four great works: the Temple, the King's palace, Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem.

Solomon did not begin work upon Millo till his queen had removed from the house of David to her own palace, which, together with the house of the Lord, was twenty years in building (1 Kings ix. 10, 24). To have an army of workmen about her would have inconvenienced her Majesty greatly.

The difficulty of explaining the name Millo in Hebrew prompts the suggestion that it was employed by the early occupants of the place long before the time of David. Still its usage leads to the conclusion that it certainly had to do with the fortifications of the city.

It is almost certain that by the building of Millo is meant the rebuilding of it. Several other instances of the same kind have been noticed.

It is certain also that Millo was in the City of David, and that fort, castle, stronghold, City of David, Zion, Millo all refer to one and the same thing, to one and the same place. This stronghold was pretty much all there was of Jerusalem. It was citadel and palace; it was

massive and spacious. The early inhabitants took pride in its strength. David, and especially Solomon, made it the chief defence of their city.

Two hundred years before Christ it has been shown that Jerusalem had a strong citadel, Acra. There is no reason why these two fortresses should not have occupied the same site. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the site was one and the same. Acra was a fortress, very strong, easily defended, and controlling by its position the destinies of the city. Precisely the same can be said of the stronghold of the City of David.

If this ancient fortress was situated on the spur of the hill which projects southward from the Temple area, it is reasonable to ask why it was built. What was it designed to defend? The nature of the ground is such that no enemy could approach it from the east or west; and the Temple was far to the north of it, rising from a rocky site 100 feet higher than the fortress. A strong fortification at this point, one of Solomon's great works, would seem to be wholly without a purpose. Jerusalem needed imperatively strong fortifications on the north and northwest.

The mention of Millo in connection with the assassination of Joash (2 Kings xii. 20) needs a moment's attention. The deed was committed "in the house of Millo, which goeth down to Silla." "Silla" means causeway. From Millo there seems to have been an elevated passage leading down to some point, and thence, probably, up again to some other point. On the descending causeway was the scene of this murder. Elsewhere the ascending causeway is mentioned. (See Chapter XL.—The Stairs.)

CHAPTER XXXV

THE SITE AND THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE

Temple and Solomon's Palace outside the City of David—Queen's Residence Distinct from the Royal Museum—Reasons for Selection of Strange Site

Choice of a site and building of the Temple

DAVID'S strong desire, after his kingdom was established, was to build a house of God, a Temple, and he consulted with the prophet Nathan about it. The work was decided upon favorably, but afterwards the plan was deferred (2 Sam. vii.). During the reign of David, and also that of Solomon previous to the building of the Temple, there was no regular place of worship; "the people sacrificed in high places." "Solomon went to Gibeon to sacrifice" (1 Kings iii. 2-4).

David made preparations for building the Temple and near the end of his life he selected the site (2 Sam. xxiv. 18-25; 1 Chron. xxi. 18-30; xxii. 2-4; 2 Chron. iii. 1). Solomon afterwards built the Temple on the site selected by his father.

Notwithstanding all the preparations that David had made for building the Temple and Solomon's great wealth and his army of 30,000 workmen, it was a long time before it was completed:—

> "Solomon was building his own house thirteen years" (1 Kings vii. 1). "At the end of twenty years, when Solomon had built the two houses, the house of the Lord and the king's house" (1 Kings ix. 10; 2 Chron. viii. 1).

House of the Lord and the king's house

Two of Solomon's greatest works were the building of the Temple and his own palace, and twenty years were required for their completion. Several times they are mentioned together,—"The two houses, the house of the

Lord and the king's house" (1 Kings ix. 10). The marginal date for this is B.C. 992, the corrected date places it about B.C. 940. Long afterwards in the time of Jeremiah, during an outbreak against this prophet when he came near losing his life, it is said that those who opposed him

> "came up from the king's house unto the house of the Lord" (Jer. xxvi. 10).

Here the same words are repeated as were used when Solomon had completed his work of building. The marginal date of this event is B.C. 609, corrected to 606. A few years later, when the Chaldeans had taken Jerusalem, it is said that

> "they burned the house of the Lord and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem and all the houses of the great men" (Jer. lii. 13).

In this place again the same words are used as in the other passages. The date is B.C. 588, corrected to B.C. 586; so that between the building and the burning of these famous structures there was an interval of 404 years, corrected to 354. Slightly different reckonings are made of the length of this period, but it is sufficiently correct to say that it was between three and a half and four centuries.

In 2 Sam. xi. 2 it is said that "David walked upon the roof of the king's house." This was the house in the City of David that Hiram had assisted him in building, and had nothing to do with the house that Solomon subsequently erected, the same as that mentioned in Jer. xxvi. 10.

Solomon's Palace and its location

For the sake of clearness, emphasis should be placed upon the fact that the site chosen by David for the Temple where it was afterwards built by Solomon, and the site of his own house, were outside the City of David. They were apart and distinct from the City of David, from Millo, Zion, and the Fortress, all of which were one and the same place (1 Kings ix. 24; 2 Chron. viii. 11).

Nothing is said about it directly, but during his building operations the fact comes out that there were two parts to Solomon's house, two vast sections—one his palace, where his queen together with the multitude of women connected with the household resided, and the other his throne-room, where his court was held. This was called the House of the Forest of Lebanon; and here were deposited golden shields and golden vessels of every description; here were his ivory throne, chairs, and footstool; here were the great lions that lined the steps; and the shiploads of curiosities which his own navy brought, coming every three years, from Tarshish; so that his Cedar Palace might be called, not an "armory," but a Royal Museum. These two sections easily communicating with each other are described as "his house" (1 Kings vii. 2; x. 17, 21; 2 Chron. ix. 16, 20).

To avoid misunderstanding it may be repeated that Solomon's palace was not the palace of David his father, it was not the "stronghold" which David took from the Jebusites, it was not Zion, it was not Millo, it had nothing to do with the City of David, but was outside and distinct from all these—which, as elsewhere shown, were one and the same place.

When Solomon married his Egyptian wife soon after the death of his father, because his own palace was not yet built, they lived in the City of David in the palace that belonged to David. In fact, just about half their married life was spent there, that is, twenty years. When after twenty years, seven for the building of the Temple and thirteen for his palace, his house was completed, they removed to it from the City of David.

There were reasons why Solomon's Palace required for its building nearly double the time that was spent on the Temple. It covered more space, and it contained almost an infinite number of rooms, halls, and dining apartments, for there was a household unprecedented in number to be provided for; not as slaves or soldiers

might be provided for, but most of them with royal magnificence (1 Kings iii. 1; vii. 1; ix. 24).

It seems possible to locate the residence of Solomon, which he built for his Egyptian wife and his vast household, with considerable certainty. The ground at the north end of the spur south of the Temple area must be closely examined. On the east side we cannot go east of Level 2279 and on the west side we cannot go west of the same Level. It will be understood that this Level projects southward from the Temple area something like an ox bow with the open end towards the north. Moreover, we cannot go further north than Level 2379, 100 feet higher than the other. The distance from the extreme points north and south is 550 feet. Dividing this we have 275 feet each way, north and south, to which the distance east and west happens to correspond. It is within these limits, which probably should be somewhat reduced, that the Royal Palace must be located.

Reasons for choosing this site

The spur south of the Temple area did not then appear as now; tens of thousands of massacred Jews were dumped here because they could not be buried, and through many long centuries rubbish has accumulated so that the sharpness of the ridge has disappeared to a great extent; but in Solomon's time there could have been only the most limited opportunities for gardens, walks, and shade trees, and none whatever for fountains of water. The site was not chosen for any attractions which the ground itself possessed. The chief reason that presents itself why his palace was erected on this site is that it might be inaccessible. Stretching with its outer courts nearly or entirely across the hill his harem would be secluded and there could be no access to it or interference with it from the east or west, hardly from the south, and on the north was the Temple with such area as it then had, which was strongly guarded. The place seems somewhat shut in; but it must be remembered

that Orientals have never had that passion for extensive or beautiful views which Occidentals have, and the ladies of Solomon's Palace were more deeply interested in the silks and other costly things which caravans and ships brought to them from distant lands than they were in all the inspiring sights which the hills of Judea afforded.

CHAPTER XXXVI

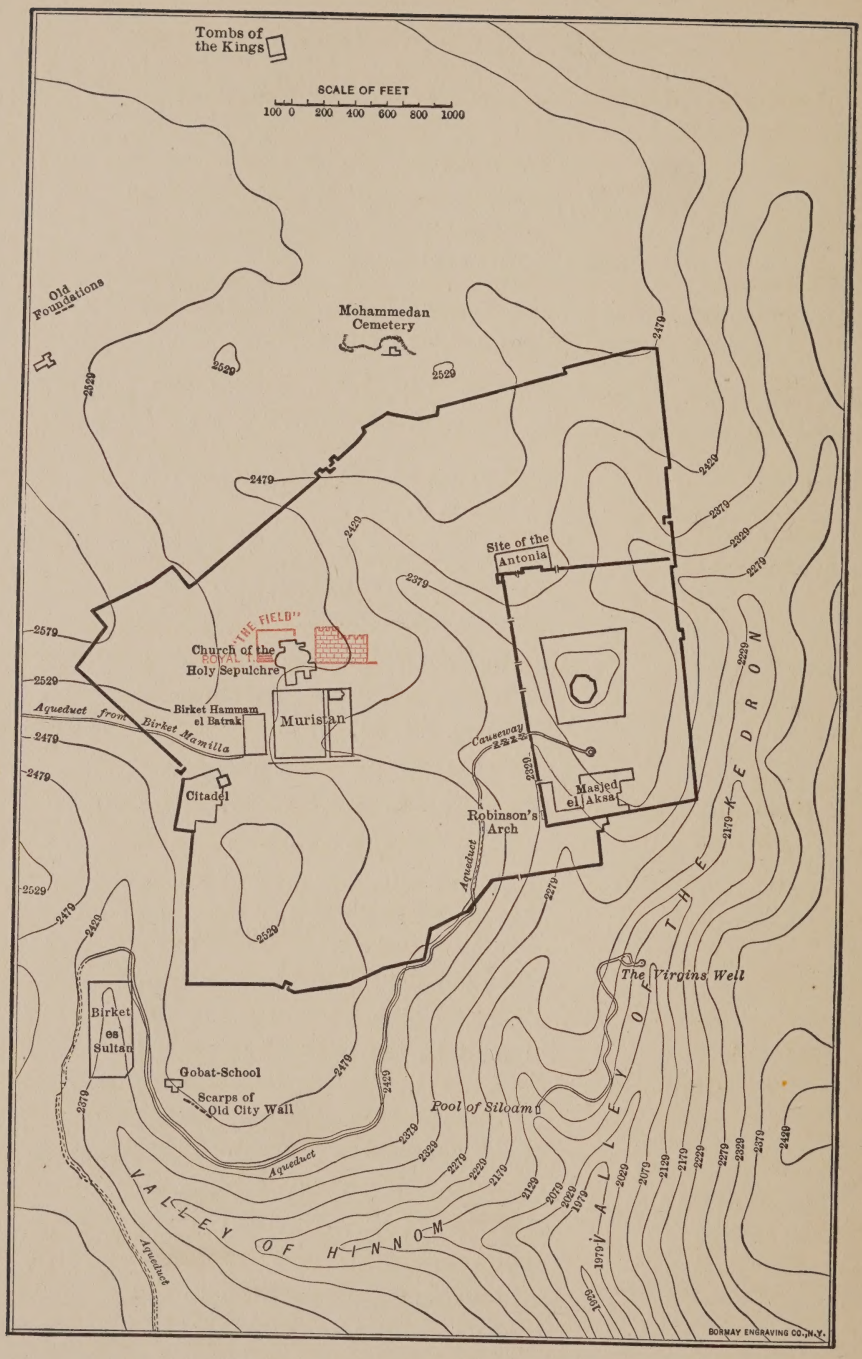
ROYAL BURIAL PLACES

List of Kings Buried—Jewish Tombs—Oriental Burial Places Compared with Cemeteries in the Western World

Royal burial places in Jerusalem

THE figures indicate the beginning of each reign, the first the marginal and the second the corrected dates.

DAVID 1055—1011	was buried in the City of David (1 Kings ii. 10).
SOLOMON 1015—971	was buried in the City of David his father (1 Kings xi. 43). The same in 2 Chron. ix. 31.
REHOBOAM 975—931	was buried in the City of David (1 Kings xiv. 31). The same in 2 Chron. xii. 16.
ABIJAH 958—915	they buried him in the City of David (1 Kings xv. 8). The same in 2 Chron. xiv. 1.
ASA 955—913	was buried with his fathers in the City of David his father (1 Kings xv. 24). They buried him in his own sepulchres which he had made for himself in the City of David (2 Chron. xvi. 14). Special honors were paid him—"a very great burning"—at his funeral.
JEHOSHAPHAT 914—873	was buried with his fathers in the City of David his father (1 Kings xxii. 50). was buried with his fathers in the City of David (2 Chron. xxi. 1).



CITY OF DAVID. BURIAL-PLACES

JEHORAM. JORAM 892—849	was buried with his fathers in the City of David (2 Kings viii. 24). They buried him in the City of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings (2 Chron. xxi. 20).
AHAZIAH 885—842	They buried him in his sepulchre with his fathers in the City of David (2 Kings ix. 28). was slain by Jehu in Samaria,—"when they had slain him they buried him,"—it is not said where (2 Chron. xxii. 9).
ATHALIAH 884—842	was slain by the way by which the horses come into the king's house (2 Kings xi. 16). slain at the entering of the horse gate by the king's house (2 Chron. xxiii. 15). It is not said in either Kings or Chronicles where she was buried.
JEHOASH. JOASH 878—837	They buried him with his fathers in the City of David (2 Kings xii. 21). They buried him in the City of David, but they buried him not in the sepulchres of the kings (2 Chron. xxiv. 25).
AMAZIAH 839—798	was buried at Jerusalem with his fathers in the City of David (2 Kings xiv. 20). They buried him with his fathers in the City of Judah (2 Chron. xxv. 28).
AZARIAH. UZZIAH 810—790	They buried him with his fathers in the City of David (2 Kings xv. 7).

	They buried him with his fathers in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings, for they said "he is a leper" (2 Chron. xxvi. 23).
JOTHAM 758—739	was buried with his fathers in the City of David (2 Kings xv. 38).
	was buried in the City of David (2 Chron. xxvii. 9).
AHAZ 742—735	was buried with his fathers in the City of David (2 Kings xvi. 20).
	They buried him in the city, in Jerusalem, but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel (2 Chron. xxviii. 27).
HEZEKIAH 726—719	In 2 Kings xx. 21 it is not stated where he was buried. They buried him in the chiefest—marg. highest—of the sepulchres of the sons of David (2 Chron. xxxii. 33). Great honors were paid him at his death.
MANASSEH 698—691	was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza (2 Kings xxi. 18).
	They buried him in his own house (2 Chron. xxxiii. 20). This was in Jerusalem.
AMON 643—637	was buried in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza (2 Kings xxi. 26).
	They "slew him in his own house"—but it does not say where he was buried (2 Chron. xxxiii. 24). It was in Jerusalem.

JOSIAH 641—636	They buried him in his own sepulchre in Jerusalem (2 Kings xxiii. 30). They buried him in — marg. among—the sepulchres of his fathers (2 Chron. xxxv. 24). There was special mourning for him.
JEHOAHAZ 610—606	died in Egypt (2 Kings xxiii. 34). was carried to Egypt (2 Chron. xxxvi. 4). It is not said where buried.
JEHOIAKIM 610—606	It is not said where he was buried (2 Kings xxiv. 6). was carried to Babylon (2 Chron. xxxvi. 6). It is not said where buried.
JEHOIACHIN 599—596	was carried to Babylon (2 Kings xxiv. 15). It is not said where buried. The same in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.
ZEDEKIAH 599—596	carried to Babylon (2 Kings xxv. 6, 7; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10-21). It is not said in either Kings or Chronicles where he died or was buried.
JEHOIADA	the High Priest in the reign of Joash, had been of such great service to the nation and was of such an honorable character, that he was honored at his death with burial in the City of David (2 Chron. xxiv. 16). "They buried him in the City of David among the kings because he had done good in Israel both toward

God and toward his house." 2 Kings, chapters xi. and xii., do not mention his burial. 2

Summary of details

There were twenty-three Kings of Judah, including one Queen and one High Priest, making twenty-three in all	23	
The burial places of Athaliah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah are not known		5
Manasseh and Amon were buried in the garden of Uzza, some place connected with the houses in which they lived		2
Asa and Josiah were buried near the royal sepulchres, but in tombs of their own construction		2
Azariah (Uzziah), being a leper, was buried in a field near the royal sepulchres		1
Jehoram (Joram), Jehoash, and Ahaz were buried near the royal sepulchres		3
Hezekiah was buried in a special tomb near the royal sepulchres, so near that it was reckoned among them		1
David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah, Jehoshaphat, Ahaziah, Amaziah, Jotham, and the High Priest Jehoiada were buried in the royal sepulchres in the City of David		9
	23	23

Sixteen were buried in the City of David in or near the royal sepulchres.
Two were buried in Jerusalem.
Five burial places not known.

The Biblical details as now presented require nine tombs in one place, and, in the Church of the Sepulchre, at the place marked by tradition as the tombs of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, we have nine kokim or ancient Jewish tombs.

These details show that some kings provided themselves with tombs while others were provided for by the State.

The account of the burial of Hezekiah deserves our attention. He was buried "in the chiefest—marg. highest—of the sepulchres of the sons of David" (2 Chron. xxxii. 33). The word *maaleh,* מעלה, means ascent. The translation would be the ascent of the sepulchres. The meaning is that the ground rose from the point where the royal sepulchres were to a higher point. From the royal sepulchres there was a slope upward, and Hezekiah's tomb was on the highest part of this slope. There is no indication that the distance from the royal sepulchres was great, it was really only slight.

Another fact made clear by these details is that near the royal sepulchres there was an open or vacant space, not very large, but still sufficient to give an opportunity for individual tombs should any king or the State desire to make them.

Sepulchres were not conspicuous

A person familiar only with Occidental ideas would say at once that the ground set apart as the Burial Place of Kings must have been spacious, elaborately laid out, and ornamented in a skilful and costly manner. At first glance this appears plausible, for around our great cities we have vast cemeteries tastefully arranged and adorned at lavish expense. The higher in position the person or the more wealthy, the costlier the monument erected to his memory and the more beautiful and attractive the adjoining grounds. To carry our ideas to the East and expect to find the same thing existing there, especially in Hebrew lands at any period of Jewish history, would be the greatest possible mistake. Given the face of a rock eight feet high, a small doorway cut in the same, and within a small box-like chamber, six, eight,or ten feet square, and we have a tomb sufficiently elegant for the burial of a royal family or a person of princely wealth. In general no one is incom-

moded by the making of such a tomb—the land could always be cultivated clear to its door. It is probable that as we approach the time of Christ these underground chambers or tombs became more and more elaborate, as in the case of the Tombs of Helena, the so-called "Tombs of the Kings." Examples of ancient Jewish tombs exist in great numbers in the hills about Jerusalem and throughout the country.

Jewish tombs were nearly all small; the receptacles for the bodies were called *kokim* or *loculi*. כּוֹך, plural כּוֹכים, is a late Hebrew word meaning niche. The Latin word *loculus,* plural *loculi* (coffin), is now generally used to designate this kind of tomb. These were close together and side by side; from two or three to a dozen leading off from the three sides of a chamber only a few feet square. They were in the solid rock and concealed under ground. Some of these are known, and doubtless many others have never been brought to light. Men plant and build, trees grow to a great size, buildings are erected, become old and are demolished, and accidentally we discover under them, beneath the surface of the ground, some interesting rock-hewn sepulchres of the ancient Jewish period. These tombs or these grave-chambers cut in the rock had no reference to, and no connection whatever with, the surface of the ground above them. The entrance to the chamber was safely guarded; but there is no evidence that ground was set apart as belonging to these sepulchres as we would enclose graves in a cemetery. The royal sepulchres in the City of David were underground and occupied only a very limited space and had ground allotted to them as is shown by the use of the word "field"; but this was the exception. The rule was the opposite of this. Even in the case of the royal sepulchres in the City of David the area devoted to them could have been only very small.

CHAPTER XXXVII

GIHON

Bible Use of Word—Water Supply of Jerusalem—Hezekiah's Work—Siloam Tunnel—Conference with Assyrian Generals—Anointing Solomon and Adonijah—Platform or Mastabeh at Place of Water Supply

Gihon

THIS name is used five times in the Old Testament, three times in connection with the anointing of Solomon as king, and once each in connection with Hezekiah and Manasseh, which would be a little before and a little after 700 B.C. It may be alluded to elsewhere, but these are the only instances where the name occurs. These few indications show that it was situated somewhere away from the city, and in a place where there was ample room. David gave orders that Solomon be taken down to Gihon to be anointed:—

> "Cause Solomon my son to ride upon mine own mule and bring him down to Gihon." And they "caused Solomon to ride upon David's mule and brought him down to Gihon to be anointed." After the anointing it is said "Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet have anointed him king in Gihon, and they are come up from thence rejoicing."

The prophet, the priest, the commander of David's Life Guards and the forces under him,—namely, the Cherethites and the Pelethites,—and a vast concourse of people with musical instruments, are mentioned as going to witness the anointing. The great assembly shouted, "God save King Solomon"; there was great rejoicing, "so that the earth rent with the sound of it," and the multitude came back to the city "rejoicing so that the city rang again" (1 Kings i. 32-45).

Such an important ceremony in the royal household and in the history of the nation would not be attended by a few score or even by a few hundreds of people, but by many thousands. The entire population of the city would naturally turn out on such an occasion. A deep narrow valley would, therefore, be a most unsuitable place for a multitude to celebrate such an event.

In all this account no pool is mentioned in connection with Gihon; but this is naturally inferred.

The phrases quoted, "bring him down," "they came up," "brought him to Gihon," are not to be pressed. David was in the "stronghold of Zion," and it would be natural to say "go down to Gihon" when they went out, and "came up from Gihon," wherever the pool was situated, when they returned.

In 2 Chron. xxxii. 30 the writer, in giving a brief summary of the acts of Hezekiah in connection with the water supply of Jerusalem, states that

> "Hezekiah also stopped the upper water course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the City of David." As the word *motza*, מוֹצָא, means bursting forth, or egress, we should translate—"stopped the egress of the waters of the Upper Gihon and led them straight down to the west side of the City of David."

This was in B.C. 712, corrected to B.C. 704-701.

> In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14 it is said that "Manasseh built a wall without the City of David on the west side of Gihon in the valley, even to the entering of the Fish Gate." We may translate this "built an outer wall to the City of David westward of Gihon in the valley, nachal, נַחַל, even to the entering in of the Fish Gate."

This was in B.C. 677, corrected to B.C. 652.

In all these notices of Gihon the word "pool" is never added. The passage referring to Hezekiah shows that in his time there existed an Upper Gihon.

Water supply; Upper and Lower Pools

As there is a series of passages relating to the water supply of Jerusalem where the word Gihon is mentioned without the addition of the word pool, so there is another interesting series where Pool, Upper Pool, Lower Pool, Reservoir, and Old Pool are mentioned without the addition of the word Gihon. All these passages belong to the time of Isaiah in the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah. Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, formed an alliance against Ahaz, king of Judah, and marched against him. Isaiah, to comfort Ahaz, is commanded to go with his son to meet him

> "at the end of the conduit of the Upper Pool, in the highway of the Fuller's Field." For "highway" the margin has causeway. The word means a street or road made higher than the land about it and hence easier to walk on (Isa. vii. 3). The date is B.C. 742, corrected to B.C. 734.

Later, in the reign of Hezekiah, Sennacherib, while besieging Lachish, sent some of his generals and a part of his army up into the mountains of Judea to capture Jerusalem:—

> "And when they were come up to Jerusalem they came and stood by the conduit of the Upper Pool which is in the highway of the Fuller's Field" (2 Kings xviii. 17). Same account in Isa. xxxvi. 2. The date is B.C. 710, corrected to B.C. 701.

Somewhat earlier than the arrival of the Assyrian army before Jerusalem, when the report of this invasion first reached Hezekiah, he conferred with his chief men as to the best means of defending the city, and they decided

> "to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city." Accordingly "they stopped all the fountains and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the Assyrians come and find much water?" (2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4). The date is a little before B.C. 701.

In 2 Kings xx. 20 there is a brief summary of the acts of Hezekiah; it is said,—

> "Hezekiah made a pool and a conduit and brought water into the city." The Hebrew reads, "brought water to the city."

Isaiah, referring to some great changes that had been made in connection with the walls and the water supply of Jerusalem, says:—

> "ye gathered together the waters of the Lower Pool. Ye made also a ditch between the two walls for the water of the Old Pool" (Isa. xxii. 9, 11). For "ditch" it is possible to read reservoir, although the Hebrew means a collecting place, a natural hollow or a place scooped out and without walls or cement.

These references show that in the time of Ahaz, about B.C. 735, and Hezekiah, there were an Upper Pool, a Lower Pool, and an Old Pool, which were of special importance in the water supply of Jerusalem. In none of these instances is Gihon mentioned in connection with pool. These designations could not be used at a time when only one pool existed. Hezekiah is said to have built the pool,—that is, the Lower Pool,—but Isaiah speaks of the Upper Pool as existing in the time of Ahaz his predecessor. Two pools existed at the time of writing; and the language used in describing them may have been carried back to a time when only one pool existed. This is possible, and nothing further can be said, unless it be that this is a case where building is used when rebuilding is meant.

Little said in the Bible of a water supply

Considering that an ample supply of water was such a necessity for Jerusalem, one is struck with the fact that so little is said about it. The word Gihon, as has been shown, is mentioned five times in the Old Testament, three times in connection with the anointing of Solomon as king, and once each in connection with Hezekiah and Manasseh.

There are a few passages where the word pool is used, evidently referring to Gihon: one referring to Ahaz, one to Hezekiah, two others probably to Hezekiah, two to the invasion of Sennacherib, and perhaps one to Nehemiah, seven in all, which are reduced to four different occasions or events.

Moreover, Shiloah is mentioned but twice in the Old Testament: once in Isaiah and once in Nehemiah (Isa. viii. 6; Neh. iii. 15). The passage in Isaiah, taking all the verses that belong to it,—5-8,—is very difficult to understand; for how can a tunnel 1,200 cubits long through the spur of a hill below Jerusalem, in a deep valley, and carrying a very small amount of water from one point to another, afford a basis for any comparison with the king of Assyria who came into the land as a conqueror? Possibly Siloam and its tunnel are not referred to.

The references are as follows:—

Gihon, 1 Kings i. 33, 38, 45; 2 Chron. xxxii. 30; xxxiii. 14; three ocasions.

Conduit of the Upper Pool, Isa. vii. 3; xxxvi. 2; 2 Kings xviii. 17; two occasions.

Hezekiah made a Pool, 2 Kings xx. 20; Water of the Old Pool, Isa. xxii. 11; Water of the Lower Pool, Isa. xxii. 9; these three as one occasion.

The Pool that was made, Neh. iii. 16; one occasion.

Shiloah, Isa. viii. 6; Neh. iii. 15; two occasions.

Besides Gihon, Pool, and Shiloah, a brook is mentioned —"the brook that ran through the midst of the land" (2 Chron. xxxii. 4). This refers to something in Jerusalem and could not refer to some distant object. Could "stopping the brook that ran through the midst of the land" refer to something that was done previous to the building of the Lower Pool?

Water brought to the city

In 2 Kings xx. 20 it is said that Hezekiah brought water to the city. In the Authorized Version and also in the Revised Version "into" is used in place of "to."

The Septuagint has *eis*, εις, which may be rendered by in or into. What guided the English translators is not known, but "towards" or "to the city" is all that the Hebrew justifies. From early times, perhaps generations before the time of Hezekiah, there existed a pool outside and at some distance from the city, which as soon as a second pool was constructed would be called the Old Pool. The water of the first would be led into the second, therefore one would be called the Upper Pool and the other the Lower Pool. Water was led from one pool to the other by means of a "conduit." A conduit, *taalah*, תעלה, does not mean a "tunnel," for which there is no word in Hebrew, but a canal large or small. The "trench" about Elijah's altar on Mount Carmel was a conduit (1 Kings xviii. 32), and so likewise was a small canal in a garden which conveyed water to the different trees (Ezek. xxxi. 4).

Conduit of Upper Pool: Fuller's Field

There is a word for word resemblance between the account of Rezin's invasion of Judah in the reign of Ahaz and the invasion of Sennacherib in the reign of Hezekiah. The invasion of Rezin was at the very beginning of the reign of Ahaz, say in B.C. 742, corrected B.C. 734.

> "Isaiah and his son went out to meet Ahaz at the end of the conduit of the Upper Pool in the highway of the Fuller's Field" (Isa. vii. 3).

The invasion of Sennacherib is placed in B.C. 710, corrected to B.C. 701.

> "The Assyrian generals stood by the conduit of the Upper Pool, which is in the highway of the Fuller's Field" (2 Kings xviii. 17).

Taking the account as it stands it is certain that at the time of this occurrence Ahaz was not in Jerusalem but was coming from somewhere, and the prophet and his son had to go out of the city to meet him. There is no explanation of this.

Sennacherib was at Lachish and came thence to Jeru-

salem. There was a south way *via* Hebron, likewise a more northerly route, by either of which he would approach Jerusalem from a westerly direction.

The "conduit of the Upper Pool" was near the wall of the city, for in the conference between the Assyrian generals and the messengers of Hezekiah the people on the wall heard all that was said, hence the messengers of Hezekiah entreated the generals to speak in another language so that the people might not understand. The request was the occasion for renewed insults from the Assyrians.

The phrase or name "Fuller's Field" is interesting. The word for "Fuller" is *kabas,* כָּבַס, and is used fifty-one times in the Bible, always meaning *washing* or *to wash,* with the exception of four times where it is translated "fuller." As three of these passages (2 Kings xviii. 17; Isa. vii. 3; xxxvi. 2) refer to the same thing, they may be counted as one. The fourth passage is in Mal. iii. 2, translated "fuller's soap." In all these instances, really but two, the word could just as well be translated *wash, washing, washers; soap of those who wash clothes; field of washing.* A fuller had to wash his cloth; but washing cloth and fulling it are quite different processes. The inhabitants of Jerusalem had a place where washing was done outside the city, as is now the case in many European towns. The act of washing clothes is clearly meant by the Hebrew word. Very little can be learned from the Bible, almost nothing in fact, of the fuller's art among the Hebrews. The washing of soiled clothes is entirely distinct from the work of fulling cloth. The latter requires considerable machinery, caldrons for boiling the cloth, large rollers, and room for drying.

Virgin's Fountain and Pool of Siloam

The supply of water in the Fountain of the Virgin, together with that in the Pool of Siloam, seems so meagre as to make it impossible for a large and wealthy

city to depend upon it. It was never more than an auxiliary supply. Why should the attention of modern investigators be turned in this direction so exclusively as it has been? With the great reservoirs at Solomon's Pools and the sources miles beyond them, with the natural watersheds to the west and northwest of the city, most favorable for furnishing a vast supply of comparatively pure water, why not admit that the old Hebrews were practical men and would make use of these advantages?

Old reservoir below Siloam

In the valley below the Pool of Siloam there is a large reservoir supported on the lower side by a dam of considerable strength, and it has been suggested that this corresponds to one of the pools now under consideration. It might catch some overflow from the Pool of Siloam, but for a main supply it would depend upon surface water. It must always have received the wash of the city, and consequently the water it contained must always have been foul and unfit for use except for purposes of irrigation.

"The King's Garden" would need an ample and a permanent supply of water. This could be obtained by means of the surface reservoir now described. The old canal led the water from the Fountain of the Virgin around the hill into the reservoir. This was not wholly satisfactory; hence the tunnel was made that the supply in the reservoir might be greater and there be less danger of the supply for the garden failing during the hot summer.

The present Birket es Sultan, the so-called Lower Pool of Gihon, is a good illustration of the pool below Siloam. Birket Sultan receives the wash from the hills about it and is so foul that the water can only be used for irrigation. The water in the reservoir below Siloam must have been worse than that in the Birket Sultan.

Siloam Tunnel

The work of excavating the Siloam Tunnel must have been long and difficult, and the completion of it would

certainly be an occasion for rejoicing as its inscription indicates. This is a silent kind of inscription, omitting everything we want to know about. What king ordered it? Who was the ruler at that time? What was the date of the work? Why were they ordered or led to make this excavation? Everything seems to justify the conclusion that the workmen, coming from Phœnicia, and able to write, made the inscription of their own accord and without the prompting and direction of anybody; and to them the only thing of importance was that they were fortunate enough to meet each other underground and in the middle of the rock. Scholars do not seem to have determined with any degree of certainty when this tunnel was excavated.

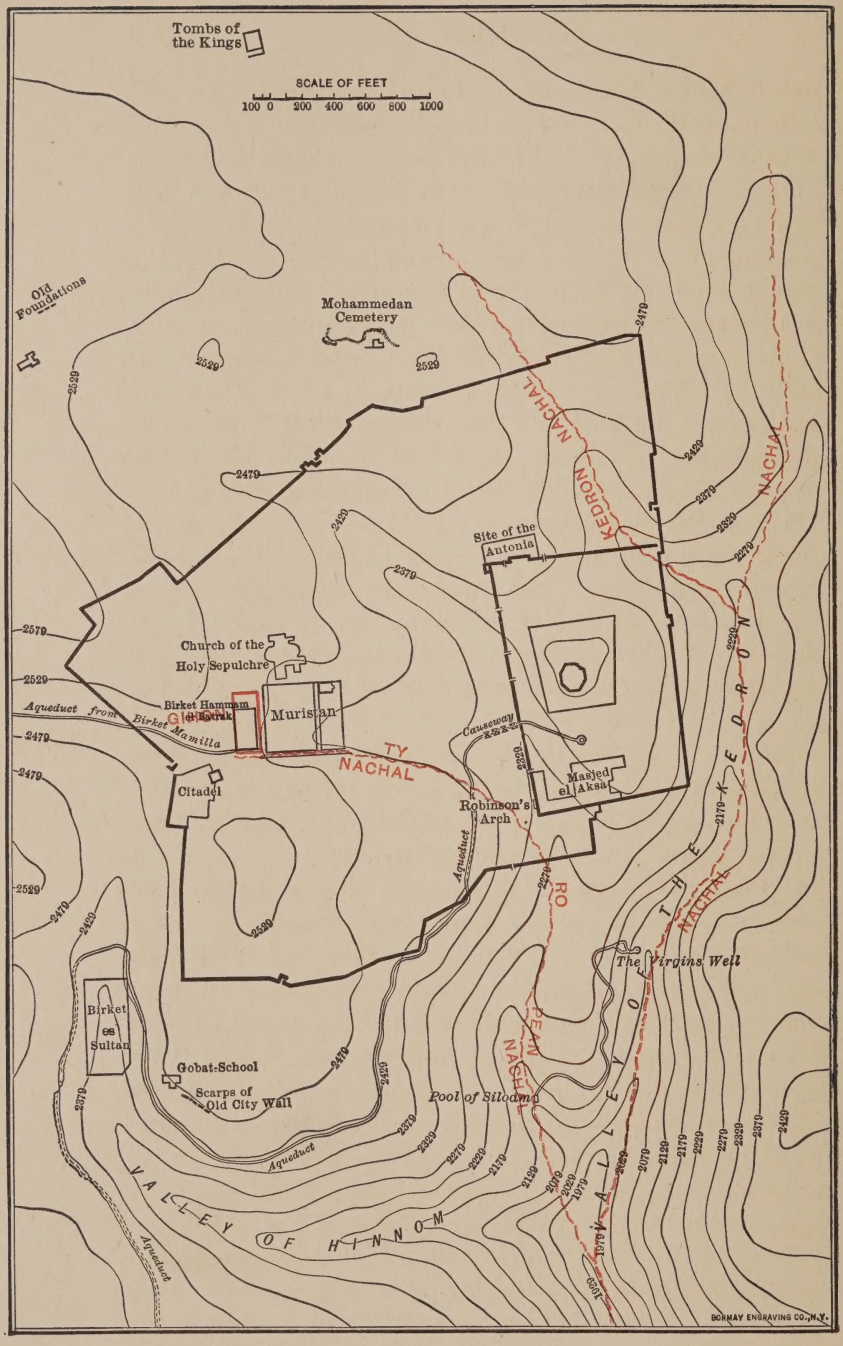
When the tunnel through the mountain at Dog River, Beirut, was excavated to convey water from that river to the city, both Arab and European workmen were employed; and when the two parties coming from opposite directions met, the Europeans shouted "hurrah" and the Arabs shouted "hamdillah"—praise God.

Hezekiah and the water supply

In 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4, there is a description of the efforts of Hezekiah to prevent the Assyrians, at the time of Sennacherib's invasion, from obtaining water, which reads as follows: "the fountains outside the city were closed and the brook that ran through the midst of the land was stopped." The word for "brook" is *nachal,* נַחַל, which means a water course that is dry in summer but which carries water during the rainy season. Both large and small water courses are designated by this term. For a single well-known example may be mentioned the Kedron, which is a nachal, to which, however, the nachal in this passage cannot possibly refer.

"Land" corrected to city

In the phrase "through the midst of the land" we have a difficulty in the words "the land," for "ha-aretz" means the earth, the world, and also Palestine. But the writer is describing what took place in Jerusalem



PLAN I.—NACHAL

itself, hence these words can apply only to the city. "Through the midst of the city" would give a clear and definite meaning. Each of the two words "city" and "land" is composed of three letters, and we may suppose that a-r-tz, ארץ, was written when á-i-r, עיר, was meant. If there was a surplus of water in the Upper Pool of Gihon it would overflow and either run to waste or be utilized for the city's needs. Even now, if the water falling upon the slopes that naturally lead into the Upper Pool of Gihon was conducted to it, the pool would be filled and an overflow would take place, necessitating a channel by which it could be carried away. This surplus if allowed to run down the valley of Hinnom would be lost, but if carried to the city and thence down the Tyropean valley, would be of service to the inhabitants. The present aqueduct comes from the Upper Pool of Gihon and enters the city at the head of the Tyropean valley. This is the "nachal" that ran through the "midst of the city."

It may be well to emphasize the fact of the favorable situation of the Upper Pool of Gihon for receiving a vast amount of water. The area of this pool is 7,338 square yards, which is not far from double the area of the Pool of Hezekiah. If the wide slopes about Upper Gihon were still open country and means were taken to lead the rain which falls upon them into this pool, the most sceptical would be forced to admit the importance to ancient Jerusalem of such a gigantic store of water. An aqueduct leading thence to the Pool of Hezekiah would fill the latter several times over if allowed to do so. This flow of water, being diverted at the head of the Tyropean, would be carried through the city.

If one observes what takes place now in the rainy season, he can form a pretty good idea of the conditions existing in ancient times. As a single example, it may be mentioned that at the end of December 1905 there had been during the three immediately preceding weeks

a fall of 15 inches of rain. The aqueduct leading to the Pool of Hezekiah being out of repair, the water that collected in the Pool of Gihon flowed without much hindrance down the Hinnom valley. The stream thus formed was a large one, in some place twenty feet wide and so deep that a man with high boots could not wade across it. There are many economic reasons why the inhabitants of ancient Jerusalem would have taken pains to utilize this overflow and carry it through the city rather than to allow it to run entirely to waste. When once filled, months would elapse before the water in the Pool of Hezekiah would become exhausted; and the great store of water in the Upper Gihon could be gradually released and carried by the aqueduct to the city and thence down through it, and thus be made an unspeakable benefit to the public.

There are two passages (2 Kings xx. 20 and 2 Chron. xxxii. 30) which assert plainly that Hezekiah did something special and important in connection with the water supply of the city, although the details of his work are not defined. The statements are as follows: "Hezekiah made a pool and a conduit and brought the water into the city." "Hezekiah brought the water straight down to the west side of the City of David." This topic is examined later in this chapter.

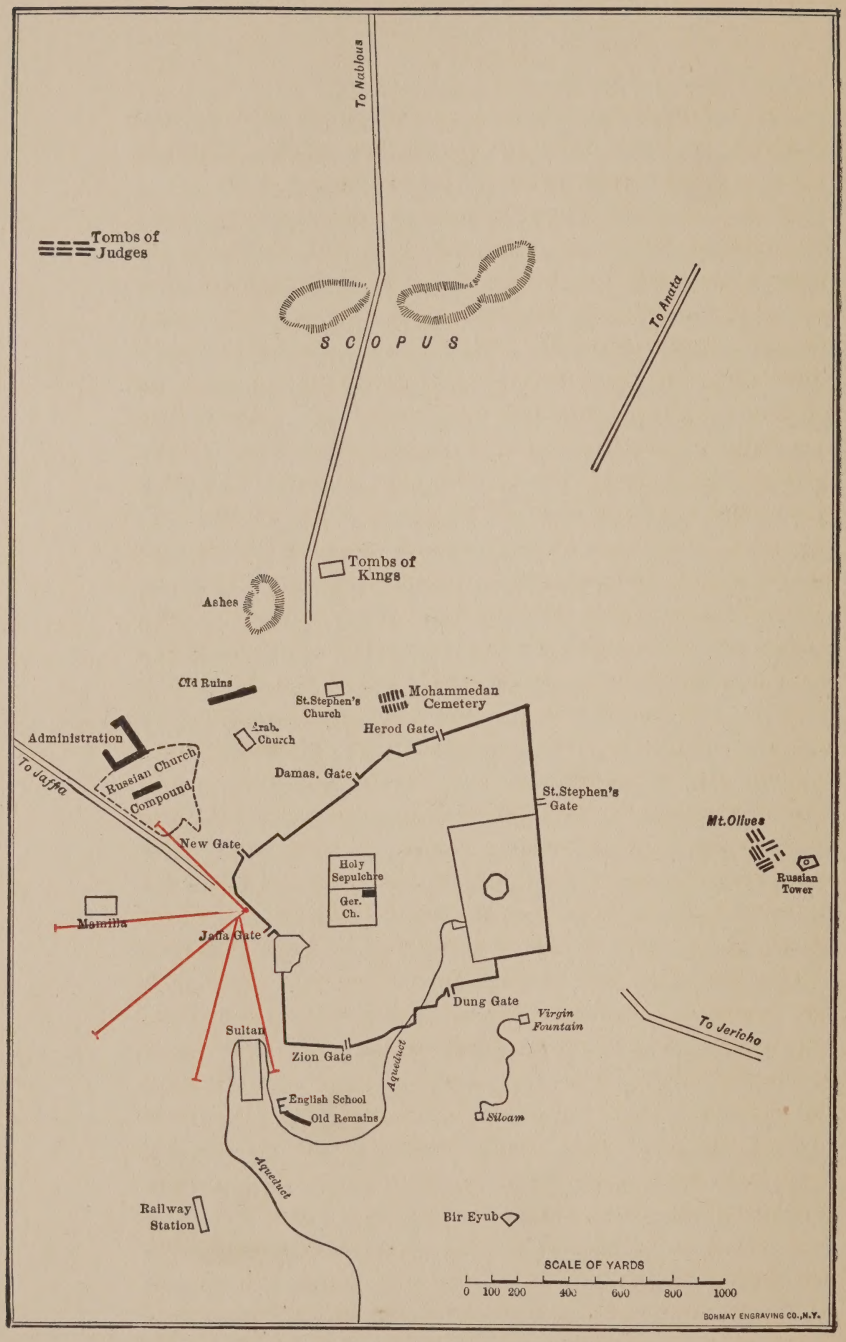
These statements of Kings and Chronicles are definite, but they should be compared with those in the book of Isaiah. Isaiah lived under four different kings: Uzziah, B.C. 810-758 (790-744); Jotham, B.C. 758-742 (744-735); Ahaz, B.C. 742-726 (735-719); and Hezekiah, B.C. 726-698 (719-691); and he commands respect both on account of his eminent character and his remarkably long public life. In chap. xxii. 9-11, a curious historical fragment, there are mentioned a number of particulars; among them are "the waters of the Lower Pool"; and "a ditch between the two walls for the water of the Old Pool."

The tone of the entire passage seems to be one of rebuke; and it is supposed that Shebna, a high official in the court of Hezekiah, is the person whom the prophet had in mind. Isaiah, in expressing his displeasure at the conduct of Shebna, was led to refer to certain changes that had taken place in the city. Hence in this passage both the Old Pool and the Lower Pool are mentioned. The moment the Old Pool is mentioned the New Pool is understood, and Lower Pool presupposes an Upper Pool. The immediate predecessor of Hezekiah was Ahaz, who reigned sixteen years. Very early in his reign the Upper Pool is mentioned, which implies the existence even at that time of the Lower Pool. Isaiah and his son went out of the city to meet Ahaz (who was absent) "at the end of the conduit of the Upper Pool" (Isa. vii. 3). The passages in Kings and Chronicles, already considered, ascribe the construction of the Lower Pool to Hezekiah; but Isa. vii. 3 shows that the Lower Pool was in existence some years at least before Hezekiah came to the throne. Isaiah does not actually mention Hezekiah as having anything to do with bringing water to Jerusalem or with the construction of any pool. Nor does he mention in such a connection the name of any one else. It is reasonable to suppose that Hezekiah's part in completing these public works so far surpassed that of any or all of his predecessors as to justify their being ascribed to him as is done in Kings and Chronicles.

Conference of Assyrian generals and messengers of Hezekiah

At this conference it is said (2 Kings xviii. 17, 26, 28) that the people on the wall could hear the conversation, and Hezekiah's messengers requested that another language be used to prevent this. The request was refused.

It is well known that in Palestine, because the atmosphere is so clear, the voices of people engaged in earnest conversation can be heard at an astonishing distance; and if a person shouts he can be heard half a mile and sometimes nearly a mile—as, for example, from the



PLAN II.—RANGE OF THE CRIER'S VOICE

Position of the crier and range of his voice, who, in former times, stood half-way between the Jaffa Gate and the northwest corner of the city wall to call out, a little before sunset, that the time for closing the gates had come.

walls of Jerusalem across to the Mount of Olives. One example is the following, which has general interest besides being illustrative of the present case.

In former times when the gates of the city were closed at night, a watchman was stationed outside the Jaffa Gate about half-way between it and the northwest corner of the city wall, whose duty it was to call out that the gate was to be shut. This he did ten or fifteen minutes before the time of closing, that any person who was outside might be warned and come in. Then it was not safe to remain overnight outside the walls. On all pleasant afternoons the people, then as now, flocked to the slopes east and west of Birket es Sultan and to the so-called Nicoforieh olive groves. As soon as the call was heard everybody hastened to return to the city. This custom continued until thirty-five or forty years ago. There were then no houses outside the walls and no buildings built against them as at present. There was nothing to obstruct the crier's voice, which rang out across the valley and could be heard distinctly at Bishop Gobat's School, Birket es Sultan, the Nicoforieh olive groves, Birket Mamilla or the Upper Gihon, and round as far as the east side of the Russian grounds. In clear weather his voice could be heard for 2,000 or 2,500 feet; and at a distance of 1,200 or 1,500 feet his words, without any effort on his part, could be easily understood. (See Plan II.)

The day after this paragraph was written the writer had occasion to go to Silwan. The morning was clear and quiet. A man on the wall at the southeast corner of the Haram (Temple) area was calling to a friend in the Silwan village. He did not shout or raise his voice to half the pitch that is often done in the streets, but both men were heard with the greatest ease. The distance between the speakers was at least 1,200 feet.

It is not to be supposed that the pompous, browbeating, impudent Assyrians on the one hand, and the excited, nervous, and timid Jews on the other, would speak in very quiet tones. Were an earnest conversa-

tion to be carried on near the Upper Pool of Gihon (the Birket Mamilla), people on the wall at the northwest corner of the city could with ease hear not only the voices of the speakers but their words as well. People now remember that from the wall at this point, before so many houses were built outside, the laughing and talking of those who gathered about this pool for recreation could easily be heard, and not infrequently parts of their conversation.

I.

Gihon and the Ophel-ridge theory of the City of David

Where did Isaiah and his son go to meet Ahaz?

A. They went out of the city.

To what point?

A. To "the end of the conduit of the Upper Pool," which can only mean a point at or near its termination.

If "the Upper Pool" is the Fountain of the Virgin, and "the conduit" is the tunnel leading under Ophel, would not "the end of the conduit" be at the Pool of Siloam?

A. There can be no doubt about that.

Would a tunnel leading under the Ophel hill be used as a landmark?

A. It is very improbable. It was out of sight, its course under the hill was not marked, and men could not possibly know if they were standing over it, "by it," or anywhere near it.

If the point where Isaiah and his son were to go was near where the tunnel terminates in the Pool of Siloam, would they not have been told to go to the Pool of Siloam?

A. That may be considered certain.

If this is the place to which Isaiah and his son went, by what route would Ahaz approach or enter the city?

A. He would pass over, or around, either the Temple hill or modern Zion, go down into the deep narrow valley, and enter near the point—that is, Siloam—where Isaiah and his son were waiting for him.

II.

When the Assyrian generals, in the time of Hezekiah, approached Jerusalem, where did they stand?

A. We are told that it was "by the conduit of the Upper Pool."

Is this the same "conduit" as that mentioned in the account of the return to the city of Ahaz?

A. It is the same.

If the Fountain of the Virgin is the "Upper Pool," would it be possible for any one to stand by "the conduit" of it, that is, the tunnel sunk deep under ground, which leads thence to Siloam?

A. The nature of the ground makes this absolutely impossible.

But suppose that the Assyrian generals stood "by the conduit" near the Siloam end, where would they be standing?

A. They would be standing on Ophel.

Is such a supposition natural or probable?

A. It is extremely unnatural and improbable.

Are not "Upper Pool" and "the conduit of the Upper Pool" used in such a way as to imply that they were well-known landmarks?

A. Certainly they are so used. They, and the entire paragraph as well, imply that there was a main thoroughfare to and from the city.

Would the Assyrian generals have approached the city by any obscure and indirect path?

A. Such a supposition is unreasonable.

III.

In the summary of the acts of Hezekiah (2 Kings xx. 20), it is said that "he made a pool and a conduit and brought the water into the city." What is the explanation of this passage?

A. Those who hold the Ophel hill theory of the City

of David understand that the "pool" meant is the Pool of Siloam, and that "the conduit" is the tunnel bringing the water to it from the Fountain of the Virgin, which they considered to be the Upper Gihon. But the Hebrew word for "conduit" never means tunnel; and to think of its meaning the tunnel under Ophel is pure assumption.

If we couple with this passage the statement in 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, that Hezekiah "brought the water straight down to the west side of the City of David," what light is thrown on the theory in question?

A. It seems to make definite the point to which the water was brought.

Is this really the case?

A. It is not; for the Pool of Siloam is at the extreme southern end of the ridge called Ophel, and to speak of its being on its "west side" would be untrue. The city would lie entirely to the north and northeast of Siloam.

Do the Hebrew words themselves, which are rendered "straight down to the west side," afford any additional light?

A. None whatever. They are correctly translated; the water was, from some point, brought down direct to the city.

What is the precise direction of the Pool of Siloam from the Fountain of the Virgin?

A. The Pool of Siloam is 10 degrees s. of s.w. from the Fountain, and the so-called "Old Pool" below Siloam is 20 degrees s. of s.w.; consequently, these two points are, from the Fountain of the Virgin, practically in the same direction. But from the centre of Ophel, if that is the City of David, the Pool of Siloam is only 10 degrees w. of s., which is almost directly south and never could have been spoken of as "west" of the city.

Some writers locate the "Old Pool" in the valley below the Pool of Siloam; are there any objections to this theory?

A. In the earliest period but one pool existed; and, of

course, at that time the designations "Old," "Upper," and "Lower" could not have been used. They would be meaningless until after more than one pool had been built. Some one, whether Hezekiah or some other king does not matter, brought the water from a higher to a lower point, that, by being near the city, it might accommodate the inhabitants better. The connecting canal would be the "conduit." The starting point would be the "Upper Pool" and the terminus would be the "Lower Pool." The "Upper Pool" would also be called the "Old," or the original Pool. At the point referred to below the Pool of Siloam there are the remains of an old reservoir; but the sewage of the city must always have been collected here. This "pool" is so distant from the city and so far below it that water could not have been led from it anywhere except farther down the valley.

How far is the so-called "Old Pool" from the Pool of Siloam?

A. About 250 feet.

If the "Old Pool" caught the sewage of the city, would not the Pool of Siloam be open to the same objection?

A. No; for the "Old Pool" is a large open basin, and always was so, while the water coming to the Pool of Siloam could not be contaminated by sewage unless it percolated through the solid rock. Only the water as it comes from the rock-cut tunnel is used for drinking and domestic purposes. The overflow, caught in an artificial reservoir near the end of the tunnel, is not used in this way.

IV.

In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14 it is stated that "Manasseh built an outer wall to the City of David westward of Gihon in the valley (nachal), even to the entering in of the Fish Gate." What hints does this passage afford as to the location of "Gihon," "the valley," and "the City of David"?

A. Everything depends upon where the City of David is located.

Where do some writers locate it?

A. On the Ophel ridge. They not only suggest this location but they boldly assert it as though it had been established beyond dispute.

Is this all that is claimed by them?

A. No; they assert that Gihon was at the Fountain of the Virgin, and that the valley, nachal, was the Kedron.

Was not the Kedron called a "nachal"?

A. Certainly; but it was not the only nachal connected with Jerusalem.

Accepting the Ophel ridge as the City of David, on which side of it, that is, east or west, would the wall be built?

A. It is not known; but the supposition is that it would be on the east side.

What is the ground of this supposition?

A. Because Gihon is claimed to correspond to the Fountain of the Virgin, which is in the deep valley east of the Ophel ridge.

With the wall of Manasseh on the east side of the Ophel ridge, how would it be related to the supposed Gihon?

A. It would be almost vertically 100 feet above it. The wall could not have been built east of Level 2229, and the horizontal distance thence to the Fountain of the Virgin is about 200 feet. The incline is one foot in two feet, and if measured exactly would exceed one foot.

What connection could Gihon have with a hill 100 feet directly above it, or rather immediately over it?

A. None whatever.

Why was it mentioned?

A. No reasonable explanation can be given; for the wall did not begin or end at that point.

What was the extent of Manasseh's wall?

A. It extended the entire length of the Ophel ridge

on its east side, and the entire length of the Temple hill on its east side, and terminated at the Fish Gate, whose position is known as north of the Temple area and not far from the Tower of Antonia.

North of the Temple hill was there a wall to Jerusalem previous to Manasseh's time?

A. This is made certain by the mention of the Fish Gate, which was the terminus of Manasseh's wall.

If Manasseh's wall extended the entire length of the Ophel ridge and the Temple hill on their east sides, it is proper to ask how the corresponding west sides of these sections were defended?

A. This question only increases the puzzles connected with the Ophel ridge theory of the City of David.

Accepting the position claimed for Manasseh's wall, was it a new structure?

A. If we say that it was, then it follows that Jerusalem on that side was not defended by a wall for 300 years, or about the length of time between Solomon and Manasseh.

But, we may ask, what is really at stake that certain writers should contend so earnestly for the Ophel ridge theory of the City of David?

A. It is difficult to say. Apparently no serious question is involved, while the contradictions and difficulties are so many and of such a character as to make its validity questionable.

Suppose, however, that in process of time this theory should be established as true, what would follow?

A. Certain things which are most improbable, and which have never been true of any city in the world, would be established as true with regard to Jerusalem. For example, (a) in rebuilding the city it was so changed as to be totally unlike the original; (b) its walls were not the same; (c) its castles for defence were not the same; (d) its public buildings were not the same; (e) none of these things followed the same lines, or were located in the same places as at first; (f) no

semblance of the old city remained; (g) moreover, the very site was not only obliterated but forgotten; and all this took place seven or seven and a half centuries after Jerusalem was first built.

V.

What do you think of the extent and population of ancient Jerusalem?

A. Such questions cannot be determined accurately as can be done in the case of a modern city; but we know that it was a place of great importance in the centuries preceding the Exile.

On what grounds do you consider that to be true?

A. First, the universal voice of history cannot be disregarded. Second, the size of the hostile armies sent from time to time to capture it show that it was far from being a small, insignificant mountain town.

What do you say of the statement of some writers, some scholars even, who declare that ancient Jerusalem was "about like the present village of Silwan"?

A. It is pure assertion, so wild and reckless that it is a wonder that any intelligent and fair-minded person should make it.

What is the size of Silwan?

A. Silwan (Siloam) is a Moslem village containing 100 houses, most of which have but one or two rooms each. The houses cling to the rocky cliff like wasp nests to the side of a wall. The entire area covered by the village is a little less than five acres. It contains less than 1,000 inhabitants, counting men, women, and children.

If it were surrounded by a strong wall, could it not defend itself for a long time?

A. No doubt; but much would depend upon the size of the force sent against it.

How many males are there in Silwan?

A. There were in 1903 four hundred and ninety-eight.

THE VILLAGE OF SILOAM (SILWAN)

Since this photograph was taken some new houses have been built, making the number, as stated in the text, about one hundred. This does not mean single and separate buildings, for several dwellings are reckoned as one house.

This includes old men and boys. According to the rule that one man behind intrenchments is equal to three outside, and supposing that the entire 498 were able-bodied men, 1,500 would be sufficient to capture the place.

VI.

What, according to the Ophel ridge theory, was the size of Jerusalem?

A. About ten acres, or at most not over thirteen acres.

Were not its defences strong?

A. It is supposed that it was enclosed by a massive wall, although no remains of such a wall have ever been found.

Could a hostile army easily approach the walls?

A. So far as the east and west walls are concerned, it could not be; for the slopes of the hill are almost vertical, and no soldiers could climb up them or stand to work against the walls. On the south, where the supposed city comes nearly to a point, the approach would be less difficult. On the north, however, the matter would be quite different, for the hill rises so that the enemy would be 50 or 100 feet higher than the city and its inhabitants would be at their mercy.

Had the city a water supply?

A. So far as is known, it had not an ample supply in the way of cisterns. And if the Pool of Siloam then existed, every person from the city attempting to bring water thence would be killed, and this from the nature of the ground would be far more certain to be the fate of those attempting to bring water from the Fountain of the Virgin.

Was there no way of attacking the city from the east and west sides?

A. Yes; although the hill dropped abruptly from the city walls to the valleys, the ground, on the opposite sides of the valleys, rose abruptly again in either direc-

tion, so that at a distance of 500 feet on the east and 400 feet on the west war engines could be placed which could shower their missiles directly into the city.

Would such a position be considered a strong one in warfare?

A. Precisely the opposite would be true. The enemy directly over the city on the north, engines pouring in missiles from the east and west, the water supply cut off, such a place could not hold out long.

Would a large army be necessary to capture such a city?

A. The question answers itself.

If this was the size and situation of Jerusalem, what are we to think of those hostile kings who led against it powerful armies numbering many thousands of men?

A. Either the records we have are not history but pure fiction, or the records being true, those kings were demented. There is no conceivable reason why they should have sent 50,000 men to do the work which 5,000 could have accomplished as well.

VII.

What are we to say of Solomon's horsemen, horses, and chariots?

A. We suppose he had a great many, as would be perfectly natural for an Oriental monarch of wealth and power.

Is not the number mentioned altogether too great?

A. Even if we allow that there were not so many as stated, they must have been very numerous, and a place where they could be kept must be provided.

Could a place have been provided for them on the Ophel ridge?

A. We can assert that it would have been impossible.

If the Ophel ridge was Jerusalem, and Solomon's chariots and horses could not be kept there, other questions arise, as: (1) Where were they kept? (2) Did

Solomon never drive into his city? (3) How far from the Ophel ridge did Solomon and his courtiers, or his queen and her attendants, have to walk before they could enter their carriages when going on a pleasure drive?

A. Such puzzling questions cannot be answered.

VIII.

But there are other problems which constitute serious objections, for example the following:—

Accepting the Ophel ridge theory of the City of David, there also, of course, would be situated the Palace of David. This was the residence of Solomon and his queen for twenty years of their married life. The work of building the Temple lasted for seven years; all this time, at a distance of between 500 and 600 yards from the royal apartments, there was an army of workmen busy with stones and every phase of labor connected with masonry. If the queen wanted to go north she must encounter débris, stones, great wagons, and laborers innumerable, besides the noise of thousands of hammers and the confusion of a multitude of voices. But for thirteen years after the Temple was completed, matters were much worse, since these same conditions were brought nearer to her palace—in fact, only about 200 yards distant. To have got away from her home, she must have gone through the crowd of workmen to the north, or descended to the point of Ophel and thence up through the Kedron, the Tyropean, or the Hinnom valleys. Life under such circumstances must have been far from pleasant.

But by placing the City of David and his palace at Acra the confusion of building would have been 500 yards distant in the case of the Temple and 700 yards in the case of her own palace, and she would have been separated from it all by a deep valley which she would have no occasion to cross. Moreover, through the broad

open country to the north and west of her city she could have moved to and fro without the slightest inconvenience. The two localities differed so widely, to say nothing of the exposure of royal women to a vast number of workmen, that the one would be immeasurably preferable to the other.

The anointing of Solomon and the anointing of Adonijah

Two important historical events must be considered:

I. The anointing of Solomon

We are asked to believe that the anointing of Solomon took place at what is now known as the Fountain of the Virgin.

We go to the top of the ridge, Level 2229, almost overhanging this fountain, the horizontal distance from it being 200 feet and the drop 100 feet, or 1 foot in 2 feet. On such an incline men cannot stand. From the bottom of the valley, which is 100 feet east of this fountain and 50 feet lower, the ascent to the same Level (2229) *eastward* is 150 feet, the horizontal distance being 300 feet. On these abrupt slopes people could not possibly stand, and the available standing room in the bottom of the valley is very limited. It may be said that "the crowd could stand on the hills above these levels." Possibly; but in that case they would be only distant and idle spectators and not interested participants as the inhabitants of Jerusalem must have been on such a national occasion. There was a vast throng of participants, and for these there certainly was not room in the narrow valley.

The only way to justify this theory is to belittle the occasion and to minimize the number of those who participated in this great event.

II. The anointing of Adonijah

When Adonijah attempted to usurp the kingdom of his father David, as represented in 1 Kings i., he made a feast at Zoheleth and En Rogel, places situated in the Kedron valley southeast of the city. It was on the same day that Solomon was crowned king at Gihon. This occasion was attended by a multitude of people,

and the rejoicing was great. When the shouting, the music, and the trumpets were heard by those with Adonijah they said: "What is going on in the city that is the occasion of all this noise?"

It is impossible that these two events should have taken place, at the same time, in the same valley at points much less than half a mile apart, and practically in sight of each other—that is, if En Rogel is placed at Bir Eyub and Gihon at the Fountain of the Virgin. But if the Fountain of the Virgin is En Rogel where can Gihon be? It is supposed that the Pool of Siloam did not then exist, so this could not have been Gihon.

The distance from Bir Eyub to the Pool of Siloam is 400 yards; and from Bir Eyub to the Fountain of the Virgin it is 730 yards. From actual experiments by the writer it is certain that, while the Pool of Siloam itself cannot be seen from Bir Eyub, the ground within a few feet of it all round can be seen, so that the two points are practically in plain sight of each other. In like manner the Fountain of the Virgin cannot actually be seen from Bir Eyub, since the fountain is pushed into the foot of the hill, but the place where the fountain is and the rising ground about it within 50 or 100 yards are in full view. It is certain that anything going on at the one place would be observed at the other.

If in regard to these two events one is placed in the Kedron valley, the more quiet of the two, and the grander affair, because of its national importance, is placed at Birket Mamilla, each could have occurred without the knowledge of the other until Adonijah's people were aroused by the shouting of the loyal multitude with Solomon.

The Illustration of the Kedron valley, looking south, shows the two points—the Fountain of the Virgin, which is claimed to be Gihon, and Bir Eyub, supposed to be En Rogel—within sight of each other, the distance between them being about 730 yards. The deep, narrow,

contracted character of the valley is conspicuous. By one theory two hostile, or at least rival, parties held assemblies of national importance in this valley on the same day, within sight of each other, and almost within hearing of each other's voices. By the other theory, the party to whom secrecy was essential is placed, as the Bible states, in the narrow valley, and the loyal party, to whom the bulk of the inhabitants belonged, is placed on the broad level ground surrounding the Upper Pool of Gihon, the present Birket Mamilla. Here was ample space for all the display that would accompany such an event. One of these theories is unreasonable; the other is reasonable and worthy of acceptance.

The Illustration of Birket Mamilla.—This Birket is 316 feet long from east to west and averages from north to south 209 feet, one end being a little wider than the other. The depth is 19 feet. About it there is even now ample open ground: 600 feet on the south, 400 feet on the west, and 1,000 feet on the north, the east side not being estimated because it is covered with Mohammedan graves. This open region has never been encumbered with houses or other buildings. For a long period it was the drill ground of the soldiers belonging to the garrison in the city. It served also as a play-ground for schoolboys, being almost the only place near the city suitable for the purpose, although, since the cemetery was walled in, it is no longer used as such. The ground is comparatively level as it appears in the illustration, and pretty free from stones. Here soldiers, schoolboys, and picnickers had room to move about as they wished.

Highway of the Fuller's Field

In the account of Sennacherib's invasion (2 Kings xviii. 17) it is said that his messengers when they reached Jerusalem "came and stood by the conduit of the Upper Pool, which is in the highway of the Fuller's Field."

The same circumstances are recorded in Isa. xxxvi. 2:

THE UPPER POOL OF GIHON, BIRKET MAMILLA, LOOKING EAST

The foreground is the west end of the pool. The photograph was taken twenty-five or thirty years ago, when there had been very little building outside the walls.

THE UPPER POOL OF GIHON, LOOKING NORTH AND NORTHWEST

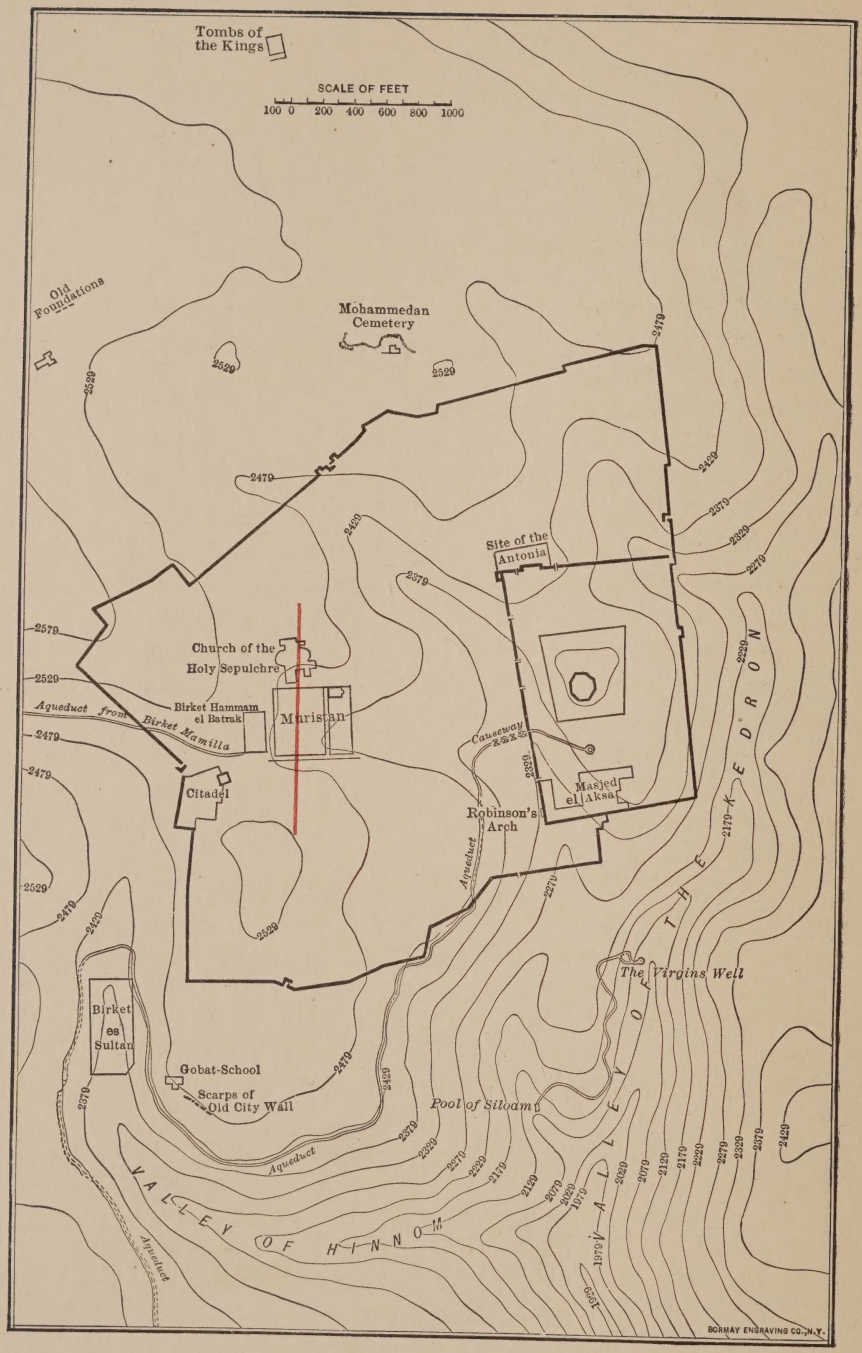
This photograph was taken in 1904, and the foreground in the companion picture is on the left in this.

"by the conduit of the Upper Pool in the highway of the Fuller's Field."

Early in the reign of Ahaz, when Rezin and Pekah planned to invade Judah, Hezekiah and his son were told to go to meet Ahaz, who was absent, "at the end of the conduit of the Upper Pool in the highway of the Fuller's Field" (Isa. vii. 3).

"Highway" is also "causeway." It means a *raised place.* It may mean a raised road like an embankment, but not necessarily. A raised place could be square or any other shape as well as long like a road. Around a fountain or a great birkeh there is often a raised platform, a low wall, or parapet running around the edge of the same, with a paved floor. This is for the convenience of those who come to the place to wash clothes or to get water. People meet there, sit, talk, chatter, wash clothes, fill water skins, and come and go all day. This raised platform is a thing well known in the life of this country; it is not only a convenience, it is an absolute necessity. It is called *mastabeh* in Arabic, and must have had a name in Hebrew.

About any city this was the natural meeting place. Horsemen and drivers of chariots would stop for a drink of water, and especially messengers, tired and dusty, would stop here to refresh themselves and, in case they were strangers, to inquire for those in the town to whom they had been sent. New arrivals would stop here to report any news they had brought. This would be the place to make inquiries about any important personages approaching the city on the public road. It is at such a place that the messengers of Sennacherib would stop after their wearisome climb up the mountains of Judea. It seems certain that next to the Market-place the mastabeh of the Public Place for Washing was of chief importance for rumors, information, and news, and we feel confident that it was to this place that Hezekiah and his son went out to obtain reports of Ahaz, who was needed in the city.



SECTION NORTH AND SOUTH THROUGH THE MURISTAN AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

CHAPTER XXXVIII

MAKTESH, THE MARKET-PLACE

Upper and Lower Market—Importance of Ascertained Levels—Threshold in Russian Church Examined—Compared with Other Thresholds — Vast Changes in Ground at Holy Sepulchre

Maktesh: the Market-place

THIS word is connected with Canaanites, or Phœnicians, who were merchants, and with traffic which was carried on in Jerusalem. It has the definite article and was a particular and well-known spot. In Zeph. i. 11 it is said: "howl, ye inhabitants of Maktesh, for all the merchant people are cut down." Revised Ver.—"people of Canaan are undone." The word is not common, being used, besides the above, in only two other places,—Judges xv. 19 and Prov. xxvii. 22,—translated respectively "hollow place" and "mortar." It was not a valley, but a basin or saucer-shaped part of Jerusalem where a market was held.

In Neh. xiii. 15, 16, a particular place in Jerusalem is referred to where traffic was carried on; the merchants of Tyre are specified, and they made themselves obnoxious to the strict Jews because they sold their wares on the Sabbath. Nehemiah protested strongly against this practice, and it seems that he went to the Market-place himself and spoke directly to the offenders.

The nature of the ground on which Jerusalem was built was such that two market-places were always necessary—one in the Upper City and one in the Lower City. (See Plan of the relative positions of the two markets in Chapter XIII.). The Maktesh—market-place—mentioned in Zeph. i. 11 is the one in the Lower City, because it is mentioned in connection with the

Fish Gate, which was on the north side of Jerusalem. Maktesh was to Jerusalem whatever agora—market-place—was in later times to a Greek or Roman city. Because the word is sometimes rendered "mortar," it does not follow that it meant a deep hole only a few yards in diameter. "Hollow place" is the best translation and gives the exact meaning which is illustrated and fully justified by Warren's Levels. From the Holy Sepulchre south to modern Zion and from Christian street east towards the Temple, there existed formerly a great basin, which in process of time was filled. The extent of this basin, or hollow place, is about 500 feet from north to south and at least 1,000 feet from west to east. In later times a portion of the area of this basin was occupied by what is known as the Muristan. After the process of filling had gone on for some centuries the many structures to which now the general name Muristan is given were built, which in turn, as the process of filling never ceased, came to be an underground ruin.

We find that some of the ancient mortars brought to light in excavating were shaped like a large soup plate; and although this does not correspond to our idea of a "mortar," still it illustrates very well the Hebrew word Maktesh. A view of such an ancient mortar is shown in the Illustration.

Levels of Maktesh or the Basin

It is not necessary to remove the mass of rubbish and reconstruct the Muristan basin in order to show its former condition. The Levels have done this already. When we are in David street, at any point east of its junction with Christian street, we are on the southern border of the Muristan basin. Christian street may likewise be reckoned its western border. The ridge running east and west where the Holy Sepulchre stands would be its north border. Taking Level 2439 as fairly representing the bottom of the basin, we have, from the remains of the old north wall of Zion, 100 feet north-

ward horizontal, a drop of 40 feet vertical; from the Pool of Hezekiah, 220 feet eastward horizontal, a drop of 50 feet vertical; from the ridge where the Holy Sepulchre stands 150 feet southward horizontal, a drop of 50 feet vertical. This great basin slopes gradually from west to east, and on the east side there is no lip or border to the basin. But a soup plate does not cease to be such even if one edge is broken; and this basin does not cease to be a maktesh even if its eastern border is wanting to complete its perfect dish shape.

Although the horizontal distance from Level 2439 is, as just stated, 220 feet from the Pool of Hezekiah, the western edge of the basin really begins at Christian street, only 50 feet from the pool. In 1884, Christian street was to be paved. At its south end where it joins David street, there is an arch, and about at the north side of the arch the workmen, when they were digging up the ground, cut off the top of a house. The hole was filled as soon as possible; but as the present writer happened to be there at the moment of its discovery, a note was made of the fact and of its depth, which was a little more than 18 feet, so that 18 or 20 feet would be the height of the house.

We have further evidence in the Church of St. John the Baptist, a little further to the north of the point just described and immediately to the right of Christian street. The bottom of this church, which is 25 feet below the level of Christian street, once represented the surface of the ground. The bottom of the Pool of Hezekiah is itself 10 feet below the level of Christian street; but we have to provide for a massive embankment or wall on the east side of the pool. (See Chapter XL.).

Traffickers coming from the south would follow the path up along the Tyropean valley, pass under the great Causeway, and going 600 to 1,000 feet further, would be in the Market-place of the Lower City.

The city, as is well known, grew towards the north;

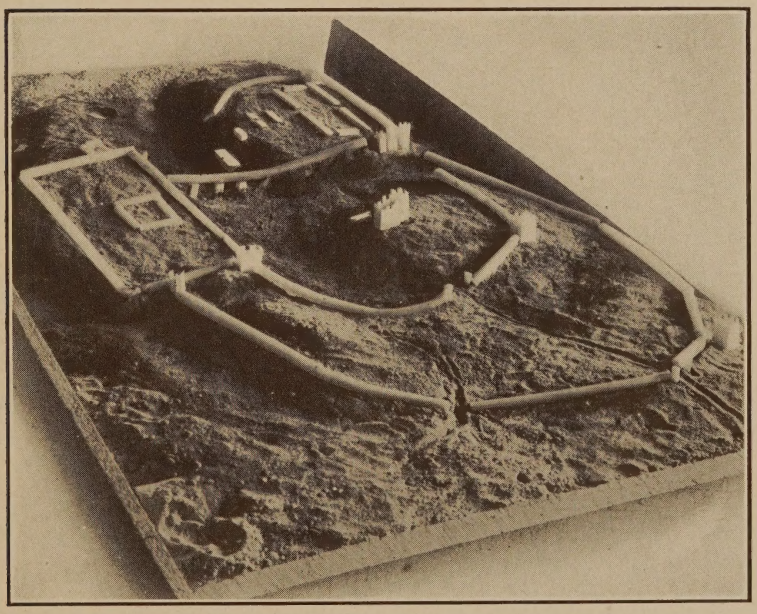
and as the country feeding it lay to the north and northwest the importance of the Lower Market would constantly increase, which could not possibly be true of the Upper Market on Mount Zion. As residences and other interests multiplied on the north, the market would inevitably tend to move itself somewhat in that direction. To reach out after patronage is a law to which even market-places are subject. It is not supposed that this entire basin was devoted to market purposes; for this object a small city like Jerusalem could not spare so much territory. Moreover, buildings, such as storehouses and the like, would gradually encroach upon its limits. In the severe factional fights between the forces of John and Simon, nearly all of which took place in the Lower City, many vast storehouses were destroyed. As each party alternately advanced and retreated they in turn "set fire to the storehouses which were filled with corn and provisions of every kind"; "the provision which might have lasted for years being thus consumed"; "they served the Romans by destroying what the city had provided against siege" (V. i. 4). The importance of this Lower Market, the existence of the storehouses about it, and its gradual movement to the north, are fully justified by numerous passages in Josephus.

The ancient "hollow place," maktesh, which is now filled and has become a large level area so that its original form is no longer apparent to the eye and which is occupied by the Muristan and the buildings adjacent to it, is shown in the Illustration, which is from a photograph of a model in sand to explain the contour of this part of the city.* Agrippa's Tower Psephinus stands on the extreme right. Then the three towers of Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 9), at the Corner Gate, at the Valley Gate, and at the "turning of the wall." Also at the Jaffa Gate the three towers of Herod the Great; the Tyropean valley running down from the Jaffa Gate; the Acra; near

* See photograph facing page 199.

SPECIMEN OF AN ANCIENT MORTAR

Made of basalt, ten inches in diameter, four inches high. The base has been carved triangular shape, each of the three sections being perforated. On one side of the base is a hare, three and a half inches long, cut with great skill and very lifelike.



GROUND CONTOUR OF THE CENTRAL PORTION OF JESUSALEM

Showing Agrippa's Wall, with Psephinus on the right. Next Manasseh's Wall, corner tower, Gate of Ephraim, and Baris–Antonia on left. The north wall, from Hippicus to the Council House, three towers of Herod, Herod's Garden, one of Uzziah's towers at Bishop Gobat's school, the Tyropean from Jaffa Gate running east and south. Valley from north to south through the city, called by Josephus the "broad valley." Tower in centre represents Acra. Depression beyond the Lower Market. Maccabean wall to prevent people in market from being robbed by foreign soldiers in Acra. Xystus, Palace of Agrippa II., and Upper Market south of First Wall.

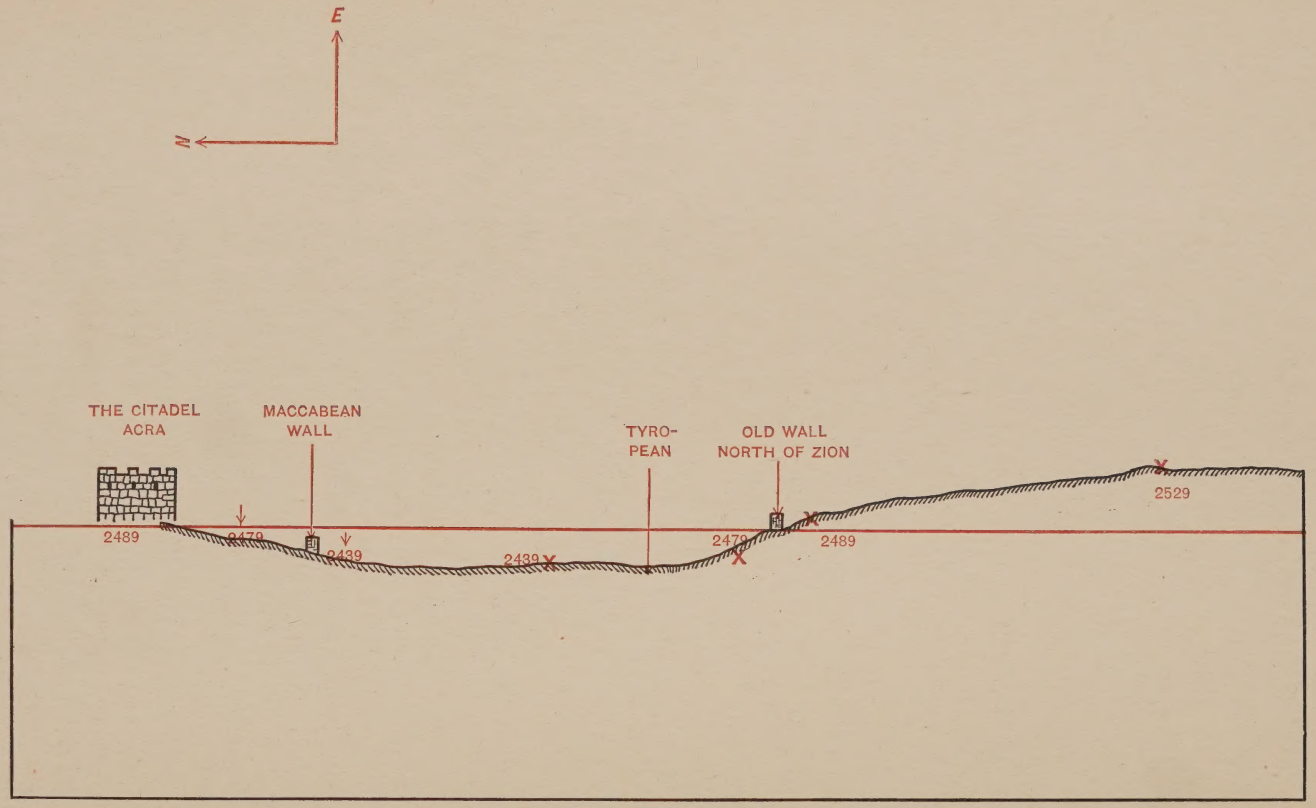
it the Maccabean wall found in 1903; on the south the site of the Palace and Garden of Herod, the Upper Market, the Palace of Agrippa II., and the Xystus. Across the "broad valley" of Josephus is his "third hill" occupied by Baris-Antonia, and east of that the Jewish Tower near the point where the wall of Agrippa terminated on the east. The gate of the middle wall represents the Gate of Ephraim, to which the Damascus Gate is successor, though not in the same position, which for 350 years was the great gate of Jerusalem on the north.

The Maccabean wall

Some time before B.C. 143, when Simon became the leader of the Jews, and while his brother Jonathan was still alive, these two men did a really extraordinary thing in Jerusalem. The Acra had for many years been held by a foreign garrison, sometimes Egyptian and sometimes Macedonian, which annoyed the Jews in many ways. Among other lawless acts they obtained supplies by robbing the people who came to the Lower Market to trade. In order to check this evil the two Maccabean brothers decided "to construct a wall in the midst of the city in order to exclude the Market-place from the garrison which was in the Acra, and by that means to hinder them from obtaining a supply of provisions" (*Antiq.*, XIII. v. 11). The wall was built and the plan was successful; for two or three years later, in B.C. 142, the garrison appealed to Trypho, B.C. 142-139, who usurped the government of Syria, for help. Their supplies had been cut off, and they specially requested that he would send them provisions (*Antiq.*, XIII. vi. 6).

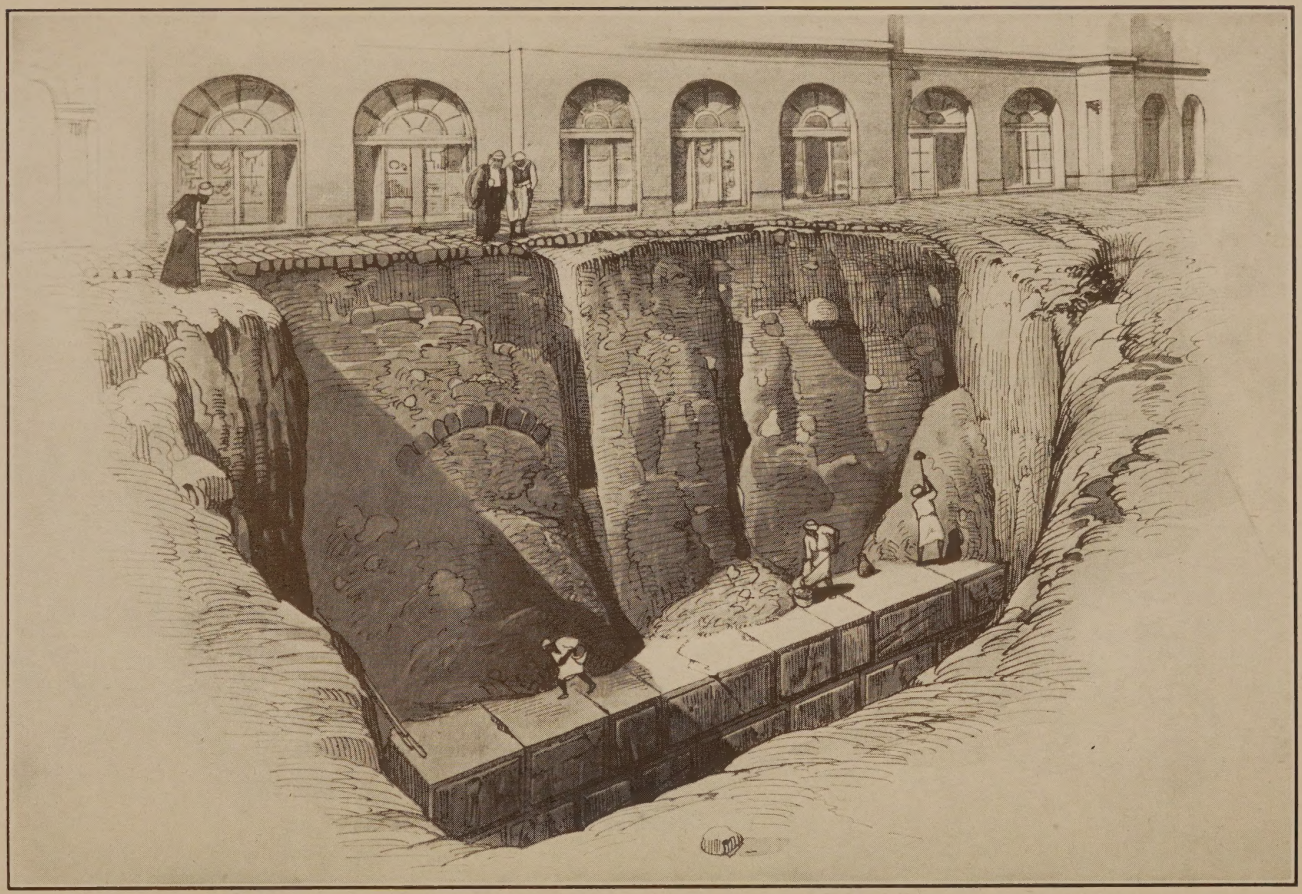
Its remains

If we go to the north side of the Muristan we are also at the north side of the Lower Market, for the two boundaries are one and the same. To the north of an east and west line drawn here, there rose up in the time of the Maccabees, from a rocky ridge, the Acra-Citadel, with its hostile and troublesome garrison. Between the Acra



PLAN II.—MAKTESH

Showing the earth removed and the "hollow place" in its original form, which was the site of the Lower Market. The Citadel, Acra, was situated to the north, and just south of it is shown the position of the Maccabean wall discovered in 1904 and erected to prevent the foreign soldiers in the Citadel from robbing the people in the Market-place.



THE MACCABEAN WALL NORTH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, FROM MEASUREMENTS AND DRAWINGS

It was built to prevent the foreign soldiers in Acra from robbing the people in the Lower Market.

and the Market-place a strong wall was built running in an east and west direction.

The street running east from the court of the Holy Sepulchre starts from its southeast corner by a small doorway beyond which the street, which is about twenty feet wide, goes in a straight line for 260 feet. On the north side, beginning with the small doorway, is the Convent of Abraham and joining that on the east is the new Russian church. On the south side, starting from the same point, is the Muristan, divided between the Greeks and the Germans. The Germans have built their new church at the north end of their portion, and the Greeks have covered their half with shops, streets, and arcades. It is to the south side of this street, which is the same as the north wall of the new Greek buildings and the German church, that attention is now called (Plan II.).

Beginning with the small doorway and going east, 85 feet is to be allowed for the frontage of the Greek property. There are next 25 feet for Crown Prince street.* After that comes the German church, 135 feet, with 20 feet more for the width of the street beyond it. At the west end of the Greek property the earth has not all been removed, so what is beneath that section is not known; but commencing with the point where the earth was removed, 40 feet of the old wall was uncovered at a depth of 7 metres, the next measurement was also 7 metres, and at the corner of Crown Prince street the depth was 12 metres; while under the north wall of the German church, that is, on the same line farther to the east, the depth was 16 metres. In feet these figures would be 23, 23, 39, and 53. The stones were 3, others 4, and others 6 feet long, with marginal draft and full face. The work was Jewish and the foundations of the Greek buildings were laid on this massive wall, which

* The full name of this street, which is new (only five or six years old), is "Crown Prince Frederick William." Few people in Jerusalem know this name, and nobody pronounces it.

is now forever hidden from human sight. The Illustration is from measurements and a drawing, since a photograph was out of the question.

Not a city wall

On finding such remains the first question to be asked is as to their purpose; and upon examination some very interesting conditions are disclosed. The rock on which the Holy Sepulchre stands is a ridge coming down from the west—say, to make the direction clear, about where the Greek convent is and the northwest corner of the city wall. The direction of this ridge is east and west. The so-called Golgotha belongs to it; and through this point a line is to be drawn east and west parallel to the north side of the Greek property and the German church. These two lines are 150 feet apart. The difference in level is about 50 feet. If this were a city wall, when it reached a height of 40 or 50 feet it would be on a level with the rock-ridge 150 feet to the north of it, and it must be raised 30 or 40 feet more before it could defend the city on that side. It does not seem possible that men of intelligence, in order to defend their city, would ever build a wall in such a position. Could it be established that they did so, it would be one of the greatest anomalies in the history of the world. The rock-ridge extends to the east of the Russian church, and until recent years it cropped out east of Khan ez Zeit on the street leading to the Serai. No stronger confirmation could be asked for than is afforded by this wall of the work of the resolute Maccabees in fencing off the Acra or Citadel from the Lower Market-place so that the hostile garrison could not rob the people who came thither to buy and sell.

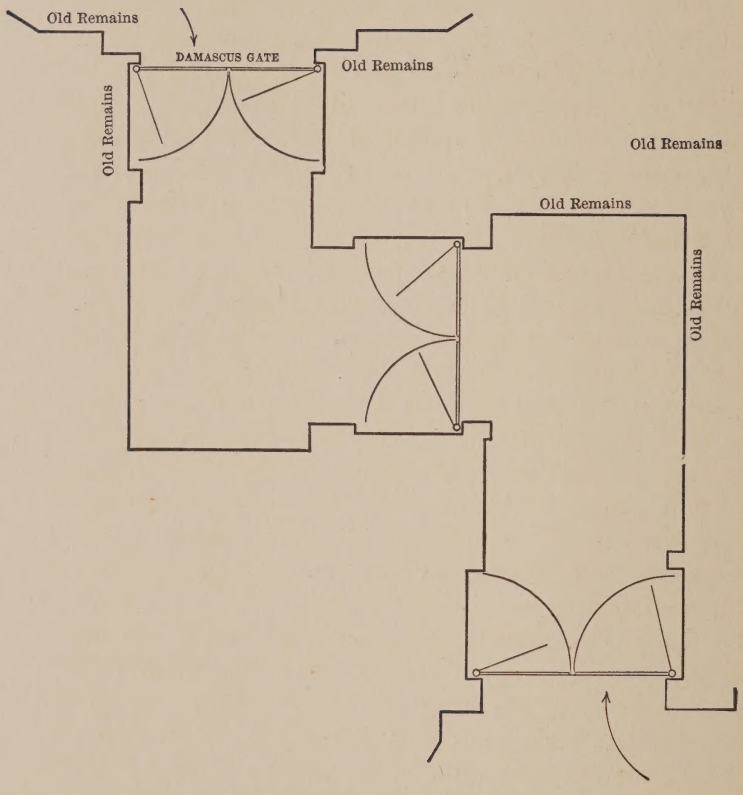
Gateway in the Russian church

In the Russian church east of the Holy Sepulchre a threshold and a gateway are shown and a remarkable age is claimed for them. On account of certain theories of the Second Wall of Jerusalem any ruins found in this immediate region, as those already described under the north wall of the Greek buildings and those under the

Russian church, the latter including this gateway, are important. The locality in question has been known for generations as an open piece of ground, partly covered with old ruins, a portion of which served as a dumping place for rubbish, another portion as a lumber yard, and another as a stable for horses and donkeys. Otherwise the spot was for a long period undisturbed and unnoticed; and it is only since this church was erected that this gateway has assumed the very great importance which it now has in the estimation of many people. We are asked to believe that this gate belonged to the Second Wall and was the veritable one through which our Lord was led to crucifixion.

Gates and thresholds examined

An examination of the gateways of the city shows that their thresholds are similar in size and construction. The width varies slightly, but in general each threshold, as now paved, is about 3 feet wide. That of the Zion Gate has been repaired with blocks similar to those with which the streets are paved. That of St. Stephen's Gate is composed of two large blocks, one 3 feet by 3 feet, and the other 6 feet by 3 feet. This threshold is 10 feet 10 inches long. At each end are steps raised 6 inches, making the actual bed of the threshold 9 feet wide. Each of the doors is 6 feet 3 inches wide, but they stand back of the jamb. Zion Gate has a double jamb on each side, each 2 feet 5 inches deep. The threshold is 10 feet 2 inches long. Jaffa Gate has a threshold 12 feet 2 inches long, and there are low raised steps at each end. This, like the threshold of St. Stephen's Gate, is composed of two stones. The threshold of Damascus Gate is 14 feet 8 inches long and is composed of four large stones and two small ones. It slopes from the level towards the city at least 6 inches and the centre holes for fastening the gates are nearly worn out by feet passing over them. The thresholds of Herod's Gate and of the New Gate are not taken into account in this estimate. The stone



DAMASCUS GATE

There were three double gates. To go out of the city the first gate opened outwards; going on to the second, they also opened outwards; going on to the outer gates, they opened into the city.

of all these thresholds, with exceptions in the way of patches, is hard limestone known as *mizzeh*. The gates are all built on the principle of the right angle. St. Stephen's Gate opened towards the city, turned a right angle, and opened again towards the Haram or Temple area. A few years since the west wall of the right angle was opened and the road now enters the city in a straight line. There were in St. Stephen's Gate, Zion Gate, and the Jaffa Gate two sets of double doors, making for each gateway an inner and outer gate. The Damascus Gate was composed of three sets of double doors, making three gates. A plan of this gate is here given. The difficulty of breaking down such a threefold gate is readily seen. To a person going out of the city by the Damascus Gate the first set of doors opened before him outward, the second set the same, while the third or exterior set opened inward. The doors of Zion Gate, which are now held in their beds at each side of the entrance by iron bars, are at least a foot too short. The level of the threshold may have been altered or they may have served as the inside double set of doors. The four gates, Damascus, St. Stephen's, Zion, and Jaffa, have now but one set of double doors each, whereas formerly Damascus had three and the rest two each, making nine sets in all.

So far as the construction, character of the stones, and the wearing are concerned, these thresholds all belong to one and the same period. It seems that the doors, which are iron-plated, have from time to time been renewed, for the man is still living who, many years since, remade those of the Jaffa Gate.

These examinations give us a fair basis of comparison in studying the threshold in the Russian church.

In general there is little to distinguish it from the other thresholds that have been described. The line of the threshold is about east and west. The length is 12 feet 8 inches and the width is 3 feet. The stone is *mizzeh* with the exception of the eastern third, which

has been remade at some time with soft stone. This indicates very late use. Between the holes where the sockets of the doors rested the distance is 8 feet; but as the jambs always lapped over and covered the back edges of the doors the actual width of the gate would be less than 8 feet, probably not more than 6 feet 6 inches. The doors opened from north to south. If this is the gate of the city the threshold must be parallel with the wall and in the same line with it, or at right angles to the wall, as is the case with the second or inner threshold in each of the other gates. If it is in line with the wall, the wall ran east and west; if it is at right angles to the wall, the wall ran north and south. But this threshold as related to existing remains is at right angles to them, since they are to the west of it and run north and south. Hence it is not an outside gate. But, further, it is not an inside gate, because it opens towards the city, which inside gates did not do, only outside gates.

This gate is almost due east of the so-called Golgotha, the distance between the two points being about 250 feet. If the Second Wall was in this region it must have followed the east and west ridge in which Golgotha is situated and turned north near the threshold in question. But there have never been found any traces of a wall along this ridge. Supposing the Second Wall existed here, Golgotha would have been only a few feet from it and on its north side, for to be "outside the wall," is essential. If Jesus was led through this gate where was he led from, Antonia or the Palace of Herod the Great? The distance would be about the same in either case. He was led thence along close to the wall until he reached Golgotha. But the evidence is clear that this was not the *outside* gate of the gate of the city, nor an *inside* gate of the gate of the city.

It must be mentioned that the pavement on the inside, that is, south of this threshold, judging by what remains of it, is not that of a street but that of a court. Also

that those who advocate the claims of this threshold lay great stress on its worn appearance. That, however, is no argument, for in Bishop Gobat's School on Mount Zion some of the thresholds have been worn down four or five inches by the feet of boys passing back and forth over them, and it has become necessary recently to replace them by new thresholds. Another instance is that of the stairs leading into the Grand New Hotel, built in 1886-95. In 1901 they had to be cut over, and those leading into the dining room had to be cut down three-quarters of an inch. The stone of these stairs was the hardest kind found in the country, called "mizzeh." These stone stairs had to be re-cut in 1905. The threshold of the entrance to the office of the Turkish *Telegraph and Post* is worn down four and a half inches at this time (1905), the building having been erected in 1893.

Placing Golgotha north of the Second Wall, as is necessary in order that it may be outside of it, leaves scant space on this ridge for the wall itself, which as we have seen ran east and west. But supposing it existed there the descent to the valley on the south would be quite abrupt. The ground in the Muristan basin 150 feet south of the wall is 50 feet lower than the top of the ridge, which is the same as the bottom of the supposed wall. How the inconvenience of this declivity was overcome no advocate of the theory in question has ever explained.

The stonework in the immediate vicinity of this gate or threshold is, omitting poor Arab patchwork, Crusading, Byzantine, and Jewish. The real purpose of this small gate or large door has never been explained. It may be thought that the examination of it has occupied too much space; but, on the other hand, the claims made for it are very great and of the most surprising character, and if there is a shadow of reason for them, and certainly if there is not, every fact connected with these remains ought to receive careful attention. There is

nothing about the gate or this threshold to indicate that they are old, or to take them out of the class of the larger gates of the city now existing which we know are of Arab construction.

Changes in ground at Holy Sepulchre

A number of circumstances must be considered which indicate marked changes in the contour of the ground about the Holy Sepulchre or in that immediate vicinity.

The wall to restrain the garrison in the Acra was built by Simon and Jonathan before B.C. 143, for in that year Jonathan was put to death. It was in B.C. 142 that the garrison asked Trypho for supplies. The Acra was destroyed by Simon in B.C. 140. Simon was at the head of affairs from B.C. 143-135, and John Hyrcanus from B.C. 135-106. It was subsequent to B.C. 106 that the Monument of John the High Priest was erected to his memory.

It has been shown that the Monument of the High Priest stood on the site of the Holy Sepulchre or a little to the east of it on the site of Acra.

A. The contour of the ground was changed in a remarkable manner by the destruction of Acra. A great deal of the débris went into the valley between the Acra and the Temple; also into the same valley farther north between Acra and the "third hill," which was the site of Antonia. This ravine, which was filled or partly filled by the Asmoneans, is described by Josephus as a "broad valley" (V. iv. 1). By these operations the slope to the south into Maktesh or the Lower Market, and likewise the more gradual slope to the north of Acra, would become less marked than they had been.

B. When after B.C. 106 the Monument of the High Priest John was erected other smaller changes took place.

C. The next point of time to be considered is that of the Roman occupation in A.D. 70. In the progress of the siege when the time came to attack simultaneously Antonia and the Old Wall (on the north of Zion), mounds

were built at Antonia and at John's Monument, two at each point. Those at John's Monument were of great size, and immense labor was required for their construction. Later both the engines and the woodwork of the mounds themselves were destroyed by the valor of the Jews, greatly to the disappointment of the Romans (V. ix. 2; xi. 1, 4, 5). To build these mounds vast amounts of wood, earth, and stones were necessary, and when their purpose failed a great unsightly heap would remain, and no one is so rash as to suppose that this would at once be removed.

D. The next point of time is that of the erection of the Basilica, the great market and meeting place of Jerusalem, the gift to Jerusalem of the Emperor Constantine, in A.D. 330. From A.D. 70 to A.D. 330 was a period of 260 years, during which Jerusalem had rebelled and been destroyed a second time, and Hadrian, after rebuilding much, had founded his new city Colonia Ælia Capitolina, A.D. 130-136. It is natural to suppose that these operations tended not to diminish but rather to increase the bulk of débris.

The site for the Basilica-Market was chosen near where the needs of the city required that there should be one, and where a market had always existed. The sites of both Market-place and Basilica are well known. In the construction of this edifice it is claimed that a vast amount of earth had to be removed. The mind reverts at once to the work of the Xth and XVth Legions at or near this point and to the ruins of the "mounds of immense magnitude" which they constructed.

Zealous Christians of the time declared that in removing this earth or rubbish a cave was found, which was immediately heralded to the world as of the utmost importance. No wall or gate, not Golgotha or the Crucifixion itself, is once mentioned, but the sacred cave, *hieron antron*, ἱερον αντρον, absorbed the attention and was the only object of interest. They seem to have forgotten that caves, caverns, and grottos had nothing

to do with the origin of Christianity and that the idea of associating the two was purely Pagan. In their blind zeal Christians thought that this earth had been placed here by the enemies of Christ. Eusebius for some reason does not attribute this covering of the "sacred cave" to any particular person, but declares it to have been the work of "impious and wicked men," "impious and godless persons" (III. ch. xxvi), always using the indefinite plural. Jerome is the writer who attributes it to Hadrian (Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, Vol. I., p. 504, col. 1., and ref. to Jerome, Let. 58). But if it was really the Emperor Hadrian who did this or ordered it to be done, the method of Eusebius in recording the fact is very strange. In simply mentioning the name of Hadrian as the offending person no harm could have come to the historian, since that emperor had been dead two hundred years. Not Hadrian nor any other emperor, even though he hated Christianity, piled up the earth at this point, but the soldiers of Titus, who were carrying on legitimate military operations. Although to associate cave or grotto with the religion of Christ is an offence, still it is affirmed that one of marvellous holiness was found and preserved; but the *threshold of the gateway,* admitting the claims made for the one existing in the Russian church, *actually pressed by the feet of our Lord on his way to crucifixion,* had no sacredness in the eyes of these pious men, and was ruthlessly destroyed, at least covered from sight. They built on it and over it to suit their convenience.

From A.D. 330 to the Crusading period is a long step; but at that time this entire region, including the Muristan and everything about the Holy Sepulchre, was changed as it never had been before. The Crusaders' plans were vast; they needed extensive buildings of all kinds, hospitals, churches, residences, storehouses, great cisterns, lodging houses for swarms of pilgrims, barracks for hundreds of horsemen, and stalls for hundreds and perhaps for thousands of horses. Levelling, filling

in, and building went on in this region to an extent which it is difficult to appreciate. Both the Basilica-Market of Constantine and the Maktesh-Market-place of an earlier period were crowded to the north to suit the building exigencies of the times, and we must think of Khan es Zeit and the adjacent bazaars as the poor but only representative of both.

CHAPTER XXXIX

BASILICA

Synonymous with Agora and Forum—Necessary and Common in All Ancient Eastern Cities—History and Use—Survival of Pagan Ideas—Constantine's Gift of a Basilica-Market to Jerusalem—His Life and Character—His Pagan Training—His Relation to Eusebius—Pagan Idea Regarding Christianity in Its Origin—"Basilica" and "Prayer House" Totally Unlike in Meaning and Use

Basilica. Name and kind of structure

THE word "basilica" is now so commonly associated with places of Christian worship in early times that some attention must be paid to its history and use. No one can claim that it is of Christian origin. It refers to a structure that was very common in Roman cities and its origin is entirely Pagan; accordingly it must be interpreted by what was known of such structures by Pagan people. It certainly did not mean to them what it meant to a Christian in the fourth or fifth century after Christ; and on the other hand the late Christian meaning cannot be carried back to Pagan times.

Agora and *forum* mean practically the same thing and are frequently used synonymously with basilica. All that "agora" meant to the Greeks and "forum" meant to the Romans was included in the word "basilica." The first and chief idea was a market-place; but much more was meant than simply a place where goods were bought and sold. The site of a market-place would be chosen where it was most convenient for the inhabitants of any given city to come together. After the primitive stage was past, when a free plot of ground open to the sky was all that was required, and it became desirable to have some protection from the sun and rain, buildings were erected which ranged from very

plain affairs to very costly and magnificent structures, as for example the Basilica of Trajan, "Basilica Ulpia," at Rome, which was 360 feet long by 180 feet wide. If possible the ground chosen was level and the structures assumed an oblong shape. Rows of columns ran lengthways, so that the space was divided into three and sometimes into five aisles, the centre aisle being wider than the others, and all these, as the foundation of one structure, were surmounted by a roof. At first a double row of columns supporting a roof, simply an arcade open at the sides, was all there was of the market-place or basilica. Small towns could not afford more costly structures. Wealthy cities, however, erected four or six rows of columns, surmounted them by a roof, that over the centre aisle being higher than the roof of the side aisles, and around the interior of this upper portion there were corridors, "upper porticoes," which became favorite resorts as promenades.

In the Roman empire every large town had its basilica-market-place. Such places were as common as they were important. The aisles of such a structure, even if there was but a double row of columns covered by a roof making one aisle or corridor, were full of stalls where every kind of merchandise was sold.

Agora, Forum, Market-place, explained

The space was apportioned off according to the requirements of the merchants and the kind of goods to be sold. Bread, flour, cheese, wine, oil, onions, fish, meat, nuts, apples and other fruits, ointments and spices, perfumes, ornaments for the head and person, cloth, clothing new and old, horse trappings, flowers, books, slaves—are some of the things mentioned as for sale in these corridors. No doubt every kind of home and foreign production was to be found in such a market. This was the public meeting-place. Here men met for consultation on any important matter. Individuals met by appointment to arrange between themselves some private affair. Commercial transactions of all kinds were

carried on here. If a man wished to secure laborers he went to the basilica-market, where men were waiting to be hired (Matt. xx. 3). Pipers were here trying to earn a few pennies with their simple music (Matt. xi. 16; Luke vii. 32). They were lounging places, where crowds gathered and wrangles occurred. Here newsmongers resorted and current events were talked over. The business and life of the city, including some of its pleasures and vices, were represented in the basilica-market.

Not the least among the multitudinous purposes which such a basilica-market served was the administration of justice. As in another country and another age Hebrew kings sat at the gate of the city to hear complaints and to transact legal business, so in later times throughout the Roman empire legal business was transacted in the market-place. A portion of a corridor was set apart for this purpose. But with the great amount of market business that was going on all the time, the place was noisy and legal business was disturbed. Therefore when the basilica was completed one end was partitioned off, the wall was made semi-circular because the people sat in a circle, and the floor was somewhat raised; this part was called "the apse," and here was the tribunal of the judge. Here the court was screened from the noisy crowd and here investigations could go on without interruption. Such a tribunal might be very plain, or it might be provided with small rooms at the sides, with seats, platforms, and other features which luxurious citizens might demand.

It is interesting to observe that everything pertaining to a basilica, from the rude open market-place to the grandest structure in the empire, was designed to meet a real want; nothing was built arbitrarily. Everything also belonged to business or pleasure. The idea of divine worship was never associated with a basilica. A Roman temple had no tribunal, or apse; a basilica had an apse which was the tribunal.

From the free plot of ground open to the sky to the

grand basilica the development was slow, but every step was perfectly natural. In like manner the development was slow from a Pagan basilica to a house of Christian worship. First there was a market-place; it was a meeting place, a place for the transaction of all kinds of public business, a place for promenades,—men and women frequented the upper walks or porticoes, whence they could look down upon the busy crowds in the area below,—and a place for discussions. Here the new doctrines that had begun to move the world would be talked over and over, Christian merchants and Christian citizens would meet for consultation, and gradually the transformation took place. But it was a much longer time before the market and the church were entirely dissociated; in many cases even where merchants no longer frequented the aisles the traffic of the city went on at the doors.

In one of the London daily papers for March 24, 1903, in an account of certain improper practices connected with Norwich Cathedral which the Dean had publicly condemned, an editorial gives some interesting facts showing that this union of market and church survived through many centuries. "The people of Norwich are consciously or unconsciously reverting to an ancient custom in using the nave of the Cathedral as a common meeting ground. . . . In old days . . . it was the custom, while rigorously safeguarding chancel and chapel, to regard the naves of cathedrals and parish churches as the public hall of the people. The nave of St. Paul's Cathedral, long known as 'Paul's Walk,' was the fashionable promenade of London, and its times and seasons were as rigorously observed as those of Rotten Row. Commercial traffic was common within the cathedral walls; persons openly bartered with one another, lawyers interviewed their clients, and in fact Shakespeare makes Falstaff go to St. Paul's to buy a horse. This use was not peculiar to St. Paul's. The naves of York and

Durham were promenades of fashion; thoroughfares ran through Durham and even Norwich Cathedral itself,—the latter being closed to traffic by Bishop Gooch in 1748; it required a special canon to forbid church wardens holding banquets and entertainments in their churches; and one of the charges which the Puritans brought against Archbishop Laud was that he had forbidden the magistrates to hold their court in Tewkesbury Abbey Church on the ground that it was a consecrated spot."

Constantine's gift to Jerusalem

Constantine was at the head of a vast empire, and his ambition was to strengthen his position by every possible means. He, like other rulers of his class, was absorbed in politics in the widest sense. Scruples about the sacredness of human life did not deter him from the darkest deeds, provided they would advance his political schemes; nor was he likely to be swayed by sentimental notions about religion of any sort. To judge this great man by any other rule is to misjudge him. To assert that he was a devout Christian intent only on the propagation of the new faith is to assert what is unhistorical and incorrect. To claim that under the guise of a Christian he was still and only a Pagan is equally wrong. The fact is that Constantine was first and foremost a politician. Secondly, all his education and mental training had been Pagan. It was only late in life that he gave any special attention to Christianity.

In judging of particular acts, as the murder of a rival, we must ask what political purpose it would serve. In erecting a basilica we must ask, not what he knew about or cared for Christianity, but how far it would please the inhabitants of any given city or province.

Jerusalem at this time, A.D. 327, was neither wealthy nor powerful, and it was only in part a Christian city. Judea Capta ceased with Hadrian, A.D. 136, and Ælia Capitolina lasted from this date to A.D. 250 or a little later. From A.D. 70 until A.D. 330, Jews, Christians, and

Pagans had, for much of the time, lived together in Jerusalem as they had throughout Palestine. What they needed was a spacious market-place in their chief city, an agora, forum, a basilica. The gift of a basilica-market would be a great boon to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the people of the country in general—a place for meeting, conferences, discussions, and for the administration of justice as well as for buying and selling merchandise. Constantine as ruler could not please one section of his subjects at the expense of another section just as loyal. Therefore if, on the one hand, he had erected in Jerusalem a Pagan temple or, on the other hand, a Christian house of worship, his act would have been unwise, impolitic, and would certainly have given offence.

A royal command in reference to building any house in Jerusalem must be considered in the light of these conditions; to do otherwise is to violate historical principles and to charge a ruler with violating the principles of good government. Fairness demands that Constantine be regarded as a great ruler and not as a religious partisan. If we turn to Constantine's letter of instructions to Macarius of Jerusalem we find that he does not mention *martyrium, prayer house, temple, church,* or any similar word; but only "basilica." His Pagan education and centuries of usage by the Pagan nation to which he belonged had given this word a fixed meaning; it did not go beyond what was universally known and understood by a basilica-market; it had no reference whatever to divine worship. If Constantine said one thing and certain devout Christians in Jerusalem understood another thing, Constantine ought not to be made a party to the misunderstanding.

PART SECOND

The matter might be left at this point were it not for the fact that this period of history is not generally well understood and is really difficult to understand. Vol-

Special features. Constantine, Christianity, Eusebius

umes would be required to describe the changes that were taking place and the character of the men and events that made up the life of the time. No such formidable task is proposed; but a few historical data must be given to indicate the basis of the general statements already made.

Looking on the scene as a whole, there stand out three prominent features, which may be summarized as follows:

(1) Constantine saw that Paganism was losing its hold upon the people of his empire and Christianity gaining in proportion, and for political ends he played with both in such a manner that his acts and character are well-nigh beyond the power of analysis; (2) Christianity was loading itself with superstitions and relics, a dead weight which for centuries afterwards smothered its spiritual life; and (3) Eusebius, the principal Christian historian of that period, was so elated by the turn which affairs had taken and by his friendly relations (himself being witness) with the Emperor that, changing his style to one of affectation and adulation, he has made it difficult for us to trace historical events in his pages of tiresome and meaningless eulogy which have come down to us. It is a strange phenomenon that, of those most celebrated in history in the art of flattering a royal master, Eusebius, a Christian bishop, should stand in the first rank.

Extravagant language of Eusebius

In confirmation we have only to turn to this historian's account of Constantine at the Council of Nicæa, where we are told that "He passed through the midst of the assembly like some heavenly messenger of God clothed in raiment which glittered with rays of light, reflecting the glowing radiance of a purple robe and adorned with the brilliant splendor of gold and precious stones" (*Life,* iii. 10). His person, the beauty of his form, his stature, his countenance, his eyes, his gait, his bearing, his majestic dignity, his imperial serenity, the

tones of his voice are all pictured to us as though the person described were more than human. From this as a beginning the words of praise increase in extravagance, degree after degree, until at last Constantine is pronounced "blessed and destined to share the empire of the Son of God in the world to come" (*Life*, iv. 48). It is said that Constantine rebuked the speaker for these words. But the addition of this remark is itself a form of flattery easily recognized by one who is familiar with Oriental methods and who realizes to what lengths the worship of rank and position is carried. This is confirmed by the fact, first, that Constantine was as familiar with the idea of placing Pagan emperors among the gods as with the commonest matter of his everyday life, and there is no reason to suppose that such language would seem to him strange or out of place; and secondly, by another significant fact, that the reproof, if actually uttered, did no good whatever, since Eusebius continued the practice until the end. An overmastering desire to please a despotic ruler is not the kind of inspiration most needed for the production of sober history. A vast number of Eusebius' sentences, instead of stating in plain exact language some simple fact or event, are designedly phrased in such a manner as to become sentences in praise of Constantine. A concise narrative of events is not found; history is swallowed up in rhetorical eulogy.

School in which Constantine was trained

It is essential to take a closer view of Constantine himself. Reference has been made to his position at the head of the Roman empire, to his great political shrewdness, or ability if one prefers this term, and to his lifelong training in Pagan customs and thought. It was a strange school in which he had spent fifty years of his life. He had learned the art of war and was a brave and successful soldier. In A.D. 308 Constantine was one of six Cæsars by whom simultaneously the empire was governed—Galerius, that is Maximianus II. (†311),

Licinius I. (†324), and Maximinus II. (†314) in the East, and Constantine, Maximianus I. (†310), and Maxentius (†312) in the West. Ambition led these men to seek each other's destruction, and in less than six years four of them had fallen and disappeared from the field of conflict, while the two remaining ones, Constantine in the West and Licinius in the East, at the head of powerful armies, were facing each other in a war of extermination. After two great battles a temporary peace was formed, to be broken again in A.D. 323 by the clash of arms, when, after three bloody engagements, two by land and one by sea, Licinius was crushed and Constantine was sole master of the empire. For sixteen years (A.D. 307-323) the world had been filled with battle and all its accompanying horrors.

Wickedness of Constantine's colleagues

His colleagues in the rule of the empire were some of the most wicked men known to history. Their indulgence in lust and debauchery, their gratification of the basest passions, their terrible cruelties, their more than brutal indifference to human life and suffering, made the title "Roman Emperor" the synonym for all that is revolting in vice or crime.

One of the lessons which Constantine learned in this school was the method of dealing with rivals. Conquered generals or vanquished princes must be exterminated. Near the outset of his career he indicated his policy in this respect by turning over captured chieftains to wild beasts in the arena, and by graciously allowing his father-in-law, Maximianus I. (A.D. 310), whom he wished to put out of the way, to choose the manner of his death. In A.D. 324 he put to death his brother-in-law Licinius I., and in the year A.D. 326 his wife Fausta, his son Crispus, and his nephew Licinius II. shared the same fate. Licinius I. had likewise a bloody hand, for he murdered the wife and children of Maximinus II., the son of the Emperor Flavius Valerius Severus, who had perished in A.D. 307, the son of his

friend and greatest benefactor Maximianus II., and also Prisca, the widow, and Valeria, the daughter, of the Emperor Diocletian. It may be mentioned that the monster Maxentius was also a brother-in-law of Constantine the Great.

The panorama of those times was a succession of scenes in which human nature was exhibited under its worst aspects, and even at this distance we cannot gaze upon that carnival of crime and those seas of blood without pain and horror. Amid such scenes and events Constantine was trained.

Massacre following death of Constantine

But others had learned the lesson of extermination as well, for almost before the sound of mourning for the dead Emperor had died away his "trinity of pious sons," as Eusebius calls them, Constantine II., Constantius II., and Constans, aged respectively twenty-five, twenty, and seventeen years, had planned and carried out the massacre of nearly all the male members of the royal household of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great,—the victims would thus be his brothers and nephews,—with the exception of Flavius Julius Gallus, then about twelve years of age, and Julian, who became known as "the Apostate," who was then about six years old. Gallus also was afterwards killed by Constantius II. The massacre included likewise some ministers of the State.

Thus these three men cleared the way for their united rule of the empire. But almost immediately a war broke out between Constantine II. and Constans, in which the former perished, A.D. 340. Constans, of profligate character instead of "pious," perished in battle in A.D. 350. And Constantius II., after a career stained by treachery, violence, and murder, died in A.D. 361, on the eve of a civil war with Julian, the only surviving member of the family of Constantius Chlorus. Thus Julian, an avowed Pagan, a pronounced enemy of Christianity, a nephew of Constantine the Great, and only

twenty-four years after his death, came to the throne, the sole ruler of the empire, and with him, had the life of the young woman been spared one year longer, would have sat as his queen his wife Helena, Constantine's youngest daughter, who was therefore the first cousin of her husband.

Failure of attempted union of Church and State

What changes a few years may bring about. Eusebius, speaking of Constantine's dividing his empire between his three sons, says that "he had been careful to imbue them with true religious principles, being himself their guide to the knowledge of sacred things. He admonished his sons to follow his pious course. He requested them to profess themselves disciples of Christ. Thus trained and excited to obedience, his sons more than fulfilled the admonitions of their father" (*Life,* iv. 51, 52).

One can feel only pity for the venerable bishop and hope that his last days were not saddened by the turn which affairs had taken. Poor Eusebius,—the visions of peace and glory for the Church which he was sure would be realized through the union of it with the temporal might of the empire were not destined to be fulfilled. Then and since, how disappointing this dream. But the shield of the State over the Church, however well intentioned, never changed the characters of men, never transformed them into the likeness of Christ.

Both old and new religions tolerated

Constantine's attitude towards Paganism could not possibly have been that of one who was born a Christian and who had all his life been familiar with Christian feeling and thought; it was rather one of severity against its abuses, and not so decidedly against the system itself. This seems to be a fair interpretation of his words and actions. In many Pagan temples licentiousness had become a prominent feature, and this fact made them repugnant to Constantine and to a large portion of his Pagan subjects as well. This is confirmed by what is said of the Venus Temple at Aphaca (the modern

Afka) in the Lebanon (*Life,* iii. 55). Some of the emperors who ruled contemporaneously with Constantine were notorious for lust and debauchery, as, for one example among many, Licinius, whose conduct is referred to in *Life,* i. 55. But no charges of a similar nature can be preferred against Constantine, who is even mentioned as "the protector of the virtuous" (*Hist.,* x. 9). These moral pest-houses were a public disgrace and their existence was a reflection upon the character of Constantine's rule; he therefore as a matter of prudence took steps to have them destroyed as soon as their existence was brought to his notice, for in many instances they had established themselves in secluded places (*Life,* iii. 52, 55). This action on the part of Constantine was for the general good of his empire, and it was perfectly natural that Christians should assert that the Emperor shared their feelings with regard to idolatry and that zeal for Christianity was his only motive. This, however, is claiming too much and asserting what cannot be proved; for had Constantine undertaken boldly to root out Paganism as a system instead of correcting its shameful abuses, the vast majority of his subjects would have risen in protest against his action; and he was too shrewd a ruler to have involved himself in such a catastrophe. Were it needed, there is abundant evidence that his policy was to conciliate all the different parties in his empire; preventing the persecution of Christians and granting to them many privileges on the one hand; and on the other encouraging in a variety of ways the old régime in which he had been born and brought up, for example by becoming Pontifex Maximus or High Priest of the Pagan religion, by using the names of Jove, Mars, and Sol on his coins, and by naming the Lord's Day Dies Soli—Day of the Sun-god.

It seems clear that toleration to both the old and new religions was a marked feature in Constantine's rule; hence the filthy and degrading rites of Paganism were

suppressed on the one hand, and on the other certain heresies that were notoriously detrimental to the public good were treated in the same manner (*Life,* ii. 56, 60; iii. 64, 65).

From the very outset of his career Constantine was tolerant of the Christians, and he urged some of his colleagues to adopt the same wise course; but the motive which influenced the Pagan mind was *politics,* and not *piety.* In the great struggles of the time men and money were needed, and so long as his Christian subjects were good citizens, to recognize them would greatly strengthen a ruler's hands, and only blindness or bigotry would prevent a sovereign from calling to his aid this source of power.

Events in Jerusalem A.D. 326-A.D. 335

If some wise, pious, and just king of England, who had been nurtured in Christian influences and had spent all his life amid Christian institutions, should direct that in a certain place a church be erected and solemnly dedicated to divine worship, and his devout, believing subjects should carry out his commands, the entire proceeding would seem to us natural and all the circumstances would be clearly comprehended by the simplest mind. It is surprising to find that many writers fully believe such to have been the conditions existing in Palestine when the building was erected in A.D. 330 on the site of the present Holy Sepulchre. There could not, however, be a greater mistake. Not a single item in this illustration was true of Constantine, of his empire, of his subjects, or of Jerusalem.

Nevertheless, an event is alleged to have occurred at Jerusalem in the year of our Lord 326 which has stirred the entire Christian world. The most prominent witnesses in this case are Eusebius and Constantine the Great. It was necessary to look, as has been done, at the history of the times in which they lived and to read some of its characteristic chapters before we turned our attention to the edifice in the Holy City which has been the

centre of such universal interest because it is claimed to cover the veritable tomb where the body of Jesus was laid.

"Life of Constantine"

This work of Eusebius contains all that he has written on the edifice at Jerusalem and is therefore of great value. Eusebius died in A.D. 340 and Constantine in A.D. 337, and it is between these two dates that this work is usually placed. There is good evidence, however, that it was written, in large part certainly, before the Emperor's death, for following immediately upon that event was the massacre of the royal household, after which occurrence no historian in his right mind would have written as Eusebius has done of Constantine's sons. It seems probable, further, that had the *Life* been written entirely after Constantine's death some things which it now contains would have been omitted, and the style would have been quite different from what we find it to be. A person related to royalty as Eusebius was to Constantine does not wait till his master whom he regards with semi-idolatry is dead before he thinks of a biography; he has the materials ready under his hand.

The *Life* contains a number of letters and documents purporting to come from Constantine himself, and it is noticeable that all these, with the exception of one letter addressed to the king of Persia, pertain to matters in the East, chiefly Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Indeed, so far as the *Life* is concerned there is very little in it to remind us that Europe and Africa, with their vast areas and interests, even existed. A great part of it is occupied with matters that personally concern Eusebius and his personal relations to his royal master. One may remark that there are no touches of grief here and there, as there must have been had the work been written after Constantine's departure; also that the vanity of Eusebius appears on every page, which feature can be easily understood when looked at from an Oriental point

of view; and again that Constantine always and on all occasions advises peace. One can readily understand that he was tired of war, but that cannot explain the reason of these many admonitions. As a politic ruler he knew that any quarrels, especially bitter ones, were detrimental to the good order of his empire and might lead to very serious results, therefore any measures to prevent or allay such quarrels would tend to make his rule easier.

It is well known that the titles of the chapters in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* were not written by himself but by a later hand, and therefore should not influence one's judgment of the text; in general they should be ignored. Moreover, the testimony of the text is not always consistent with itself, as, to mention a few examples, when Helena is to be praised, *she* built the churches at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives; when Constantine is to be praised, *he* built these churches. Again, when Helena is to be praised she, "thrice blessed woman," "passed the whole period of her life in obedience to the divine precepts"; when Constantine is to be praised, he converted his "pious mother." Again Constantine's letter concerning Hebron was, according to the text of the same, written to Macarius; but in the preceding chapter Eusebius declares that it was written to himself (*Life,* iii. 43, 46, 47, 51, 52; *Oration,* ix. 16, 17).

Discovery at Jerusalem called a miracle

Constantine was writing from a distance, probably from some place in Europe, as Constantinople had not at that time been rebuilt. He had been informed of some events that had taken place in Jerusalem and of the character of a particular relic that had been brought to light. A Christian in modern times cannot realize how much the announcement of a new relic meant to a Christian of the fourth century of our era. A passion for relics had seized the Christians of that period, since it was thought that by means of them Christianity was

confirmed. Hence they were sought for, discovered, and "invented" till their number was surprising, and for most of them it was claimed that they possessed efficacious powers such as pure religion declares should never be ascribed to wood and stone.

Whether in deference to this sentiment or not we do not know, but in the first sentence of his letter he declares this discovery to be miraculous. "The nature of this miracle as far transcends the capacity of human reason as heavenly things are superior to human affairs." This idea in different language is repeated three times in the brief space of the first section of his letter. The Emperor adds, "thus daily by fresh wonders the truth is being confirmed." This from such high authority is a picture of how the Church was then loading itself with these burdens. In less than twenty years after this letter was written the "truth was confirmed" by another "miracle," namely, the "finding of the Cross."

The cave which had been found had "remained unknown for a long series of years." The finding of it was a "miracle of surprising magnitude." Therefore the place could not have been previously known. Since the recovery was unmistakably miraculous it could not be attributed to human foresight and skill. To assert, therefore, that the place was well known and that all that was required was to dig at that point in order to bring the "sacred cave" to light, is absurd and contradicts the historical records. Constantine's statement is confirmed by that of Eusebius, who says that "contrary to all expectation the place was recovered." If it is thought necessary to illustrate this we may suppose that a famous statue had been buried at a certain point; men knew the place perfectly well; for a long period they had not been able to dig so as to recover the statue; this at last was made possible, the excavating was done, and the statue was recovered. This would be a simple matter and would occasion no surprise, any more than it would to draw from a bank a sum of money which we knew

existed there as belonging to us, although it had been lying in the bank for a long period. Men in their senses would not say that "the recovery of the statue was contrary to all expectation," nor would they say that this was "a miracle as far transcending the capacity of human reason as heavenly things are superior to human affairs."

How this miraculous recovery was made possible

At the beginning of his letter, after mentioning the "miracle" of the recovery of the cave, he introduces a circumstance which alone had made it possible for the recovery to be made, and says: "It has been accomplished by the removal of him who was the common enemy of all." Some writers assert that the reference is to Licinius II., who was put to death in A.D. 326. But at that time he was a mere lad of eleven years; and for other reasons as well as this the suggestion is not a good one. Nor could it be to his son Crispus, against which theory there are valid reasons. Licinius I. was the great enemy of Constantine, who once speaks of his powerful opponent after the latter's downfall as "that serpent now driven by God's providence from the administration of public affairs." Again he says, "I removed the common enemy of mankind" (*Life*, ii. 46, 66). It is quite certain that this is the person referred to in Constantine's letter as "the common enemy of all." He had been put to death by Constantine in A.D. 324.

Here we have the recovery of the so-called "sacred cave," Jerusalem stirred by the event, the news going out to the ends of the earth, Constantine declaring this to be one of the greatest of miracles, and in this presence and in the same breath boasting of the death of a rival. There is something incongruous in thus associating the two events.

The picture is a sad one; the Emperor stands deeply shadowed by the spirit of Paganism, the Church is listening to voices crying "lo here," "lo there" is Christ, turning its face away from its risen Lord, and wearying

itself in the effort of seeking comfort, light, and strength from an empty cave.

Perhaps the enthusiasm of Constantine over a new-found relic can be accounted for in a natural way. Two years before, he had put to death his brother-in-law Licinius I., the year of his writing this letter he had caused to be murdered his wife Fausta, his nephew Licinius II., and his son Crispus. To say that his subjects looked on unconcernedly while these murders were taking place is to say that they were sunk to the depths of savagery. Could his Christian subjects have witnessed the spectacle with any feelings but those of horror? If they were men, if they were followers of Christ, they must have been shocked by recent events in which their emperor was the chief participant. This feeling must be allayed. The occurrence in Jerusalem was most opportune for the purpose, and the reasoning would be as follows: "The greatest enthusiasm must be shown on account of the alleged discovery; it must be declared to be a stupendous miracle; it must be proclaimed that the discovery was facilitated, indeed made possible, by the putting to death of these royal persons; and thus my Christian subjects in their joy at finding the 'sacred cave' may, in view of these considerations, judge more leniently of my crimes." In the lives of kings and despots how often has it happened that power built up and reached by cruel and unscrupulous policy has been in need of an excuse for desperate deeds.

Constantine's letter analysed

That the letter of Constantine may have its full weight an analysis of it is here presented:

Ch. xxx.

No language can describe the miracle.

A monument long hidden and unknown has been recovered.

Reason stated why it had not been found before.

The finding of this was a miracle.

This miracle transcends the capacity of human reason as far as divine things surpass human affairs.
Thus daily, by fresh miracles, the truth is established.
As miracles multiply . . . zeal should increase.
This sacred spot the writer wishes to adorn.
The weight of idol worship upon it has been removed.
This spot was always holy in God's sight.
Now holier than ever because it brought to light the assurance of the salutary suffering.

Ch. xxxi.

All necessary provision to be made that the proposed structure be the finest in the world.
Officers instructed as to erection of the building and furnishing materials and workmen.
Report to be sent to the writer, of marbles, columns, and other things needed.

Ch. xxxii.

Asks about the kind of roof or ceiling.
Local governors to be notified as to workmen and money required.
Report to be sent to the writer as to marbles, columns, and ceiling.

As to the character of this letter there is ground for more than one opinion. It is certainly a very strange way in which to write on a matter of business. If the five chapters preceding chapter xxx. (xxv. to xxix. inclusive) are closely examined it becomes evident that they could most naturally have been written after the letter of Constantine reached Jerusalem. Hints, suggestions, and individual sentences in the letter are taken as a basis and expanded as is frequently done in modern journalism. Notably, chapter xxix. is simply an expansion of some hints or expressions in the letter itself. For a single specification this sentence may be taken: "I have disencumbered the spot of the heavy weight of

foul idol worship." Nearly all of chapter xxvi., which is a long one, and all of chapter xxvii., are nothing more or less than an elaboration of this brief statement of the letter precisely in the manner of a modern editor. As "heavy weight" is mentioned, one part of the enlarging process would be to describe what it was and how it came there. This occupies at least one-half of chapter xxvi. But Eusebius shows that he is enlarging a hint and not writing history when he explains who it was that piled up here the great accumulation of earth and rubbish. There is a tradition that Hadrian did it, but Eusebius does not mention it nor does he mention the name of that emperor, who lived 200 years before him. Eusebius constantly uses the plural, "impious men," "impious and godless persons," "impious and wicked men," and through them "the whole race of evil spirits" sought by this means to obliterate all traces of the burial place of Christ. This is talking at random without any attempt to give specific information. The writer shows that he was entirely ignorant as to how this mound came to exist at this particular point.

The last clause of chapter xxix. seems to have been suggested by a special motive, and as it sheds light on the affairs of the time must be considered by itself. At that time, both in the Pagan and the Christian worlds, there were many who doubted the sincerity of Constantine's profession of Christianity. Eusebius was aware of this feeling, which the shocking events that had just transpired, and in which Constantine was directly involved, had not tended to allay; and it was necessary for him to make his master's position clear if possible. This he attempted by saying of the letter of Constantine that "in it he clearly asserted the saving doctrine of the faith." If he had said nothing, suspicion would not have been aroused. The fact of his making this statement disclosed his anxiety in the matter. This, because it meets the conditions, is the most reasonable explanation of this strange remark.

Temples of Venus immoral places

It is alleged that a Venus temple was erected by the Pagans over the burial place of Jesus in order to give offence to the Christians. No one supposes that they were too gentle or too kind-hearted to have annoyed Christians in this manner. But if they chose this way of annoying their neighbors was it necessary for their purpose to build a great mound of earth such as Eusebius describes, involving enormous expense? Had the alleged temple been erected on the spot as a sign of reproach to the Christians it would have served another purpose, namely, to mark the place of Christ's burial. If this was so then the place was certainly known. But both Eusebius and Constantine assert that the place was not known. Therefore if a Venus temple stood at this point, since it was not a memorial indicating the locality of the grave of Christ, its existence must be accounted for in some other way.

It has been asserted that the coins of Jerusalem in the Roman period, A.D. 136 and a century or more later, show on them a temple of Venus. When attention first began to be paid to the Roman coins of Jerusalem this was thought to be true; but later investigation has proved that no coins bearing the temple and figure of Venus exist. Some of the coins of this period show a temple of Jupiter which is said to have stood on the site of the Jewish Temple.

It must be remembered that Venus temples had become notorious as places of immoral rites, and that therefore the Emperor and all the best people of the empire had demanded that they be destroyed. All such temples, whether at Jerusalem or elsewhere, would be included in the general proscription.

The removing of the earth and rubbish over the cave at Jerusalem is a special feature of the account; and it is to be noticed that a similar trouble was encountered at Tyre when, a few years earlier, the church was built in that city. In his record of that event Eusebius says, "It deserves to be mentioned first of all that the site"

where they wished to build "had been covered with all sorts of rubbish by the artifices of our enemies." But, "not deterred by the wickedness of those who had brought about this condition of things," it was decided to build upon that site, although "another might have been chosen where the labor of preparing it would have been less" (*Hist.*, x. 4, Par. 26). It seems strange that both at Jerusalem and at Tyre the enemies of the Christians should have piled up rubbish at certain points with the design of annoying them.

Nature of the object found

As Constantine and Eusebius are the witnesses immediately concerned, it is proper to look to them for evidence as to what was really brought to light or "recovered" in Jerusalem in the year A.D. 326.

The four Evangelists are unanimous in saying that the body of Jesus was laid in a tomb that had been hewn out of the rock. The cutting of a private or family tomb out of the solid rock was, in those days, one of the commonest acts of life, and hundreds of such tombs still exist in the hillsides of Palestine. The common New Testament word for tomb, used in this case by each of the Evangelists, is *mneemeion*, *μνημειον*.

Outside the New Testament there are several Greek words which may be used for tombs or in connection with them as follows: *theekee*, *θηκη*, chest, box for money, grave, vault. *Mneema* and *mneemeion*, *μνημα*, *μνημειον*, memorial, monument for the dead. These words are nearly similar in meaning. *Seema*, *σημα*, grave, tomb, gravestone. *Taphos* or *taphee*, *ταφος*, *ταφη*, a burial, and in the plural a burial place. *Marturia* and *marturion*, *μαρτυρια*, *μαρτυριον*, witness, testimony, evidence, a place of martyrs. Martyrium is the Latin form meaning the same thing. Marturion is used for martyrdom. "Marturium was also a chapel erected in honor of a martyr or saint" (Sophocles). One or more of these Greek words may mean the sign—stone, mound, monument, or whatever the sign may have

been—which marks a tomb as well as the tomb itself. The Latin word "sepulchrum" means any kind of tomb in which the body or bones of a human being are laid.

None of the Greek words mentioned have any connection whatever with caves. If we turn to the Latin we find that none of the words meaning cave appear to have any reference to a tomb. The Greek word *antron,* αντρον, means cave, grotto, "a haunt of the nymphs and woodland gods," but it has no reference to a tomb, sepulchre, or place of burial. In both the Greek and Latin languages the distinction between tomb and cave is wide and unmistakable.

Eusebius makes frequent use of the word *sooteerios,* σωτηριος, applying it to a great variety of objects. It means deliverance or saving, and is generally rendered by *salutary.* Thus, to give a few examples, omitting the Greek words, we have salutary *cave, martyr place, victory, sign, resurrection, doctrine, feast, suffering, knowledge,* and *faith* or *law.*

In his account of what was found in Jerusalem, Eusebius uses the word *antron,* αντρον, cave, eight or more times. This cave is described as "salutary," "sacred," "holy," and "divine." Twice he uses the word *mneema,* μνημα, monument; but the two words *mneema* and *antron,* cave and monument, are by him placed in apposition, the one having the same value as the other (*Life,* III. xxxiii.). Three times he has "martyr place"; but his favorite word is *antron,* αντρον, cave. In connection with the edifices in Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives, his account being quite distinct from that of the Jerusalem cave, the word *antron,* cave, is used at least eight times, and these he describes as "mystic caves." The cave in Jerusalem was one of three found or made prominent at that time, and in character they were in no way distinguished from each other. The "secret," mysterious, "mystic" element belonged to them all alike. Constantine in his letter does not mention the

"cave," but once he speaks of the "sacred spot," *hieron antron*, ἱερον αντρον.

The finding of a cave could have nothing to do with Christ or with Christianity. It is strange that men should have thought that the two things were connected and believed it. Is it therefore necessary to believe it now?

There was no law preventing Eusebius from using the word tomb. He was writing an ecclesiastical history, and there was every reason why he should use it. It was not omitted by accident or oversight; the records themselves are evidence that the avoidance of the word was intentional. There must have been a real reason for this, and a significant one to which historians have not paid sufficient attention.

Golgotha and Tomb not mentioned by Eusebius

The fact that Eusebius says nothing about the Crucifixion or Golgotha, the place of crucifixion, is surprising. The attention is diverted from Golgotha, and from the Tomb, and fixed upon a "sacred cave." Yet it is a bishop of the Christian Church whose words are being considered. Were one to suggest a compromise between the Emperor and the bishop, much might be said in its favor. Constantine had recently come into Christianity, bringing with him many of the Pagan ideas in which he had been brought up. If Christianity could be made to appear mysterious, having its origin in some secret cave similar in spirit if not in detail to some of the heathen myths, it might be more acceptable to a vast number of the subjects of the Emperor and even to the Emperor himself. Whatever the reason may have been for the action of Eusebius, the fact remains that "caves" had the place of honor in all that pertained to the birth, teaching, and death of our Lord, notwithstanding the fact that such is a purely Pagan idea and entirely foreign to the spirit and the letter of the Gospels.

Eusebius is justly called the Father of Church History. Although some matters of a date previous to the

birth of Christ appear in his *History,* it has to do mainly with the beginnings of Christianity and its subsequent progress, struggles, and triumphs. As a historian his object was to reflect the Christian sentiment of the period with which he was dealing, and not to conceal it. Hence it is the more remarkable that these two places, Golgotha and the Tomb, places which as we look back to the early ages of Christianity stand out in such massive proportions as cannot fail to arrest the attention, should not be mentioned, referred to, or hinted at in any manner. One conclusion is justified, and only one, namely, that up to A.D. 324 (or 325), the date of the completion of the *History,* these things had assumed no special importance in the mind of Eusebius or in the feelings of the Christian Church.

We are cautioned about basing an argument on the silence of a writer, and this caution is certainly a wise one in all historical discussions. But the value of negative evidence, or the so-called argument from silence, depends largely upon the circumstances involved. If an alleged event is an ordinary one the fact that a given historian fails to mention it makes no special difference one way or the other. But when the matter is one of absorbing interest to the entire world, and a historian, writing upon the period in which it is alleged to have occurred, and about events of which it is an essential part, passes over it in silence, his silence becomes significant evidence. If an historian writing upon the early history of America should fail to mention the discovery of America everybody would be astonished at such a proceeding. And in the case of Eusebius we find that in his later work, the *Life of Constantine,* when he is writing specifically about the edifice that was erected in Jerusalem, there is still no mention of Golgotha or the Tomb—the place of crucifixion or the Crucifixion itself. One would think that to omit them in such a connection would require more than an ordinary effort.

With regard to the feelings of Christians, to which reference has just been made, it seems that considerations like the following have not had their full weight.

Both Jesus and his family belonged to Nazareth, at least in Galilee. With his friends he was on a temporary visit to Jerusalem. After his death, his body was laid temporarily in the family tomb of a man named Joseph. This tomb his body occupied two nights and one day, or three periods of twelve hours each. The further steps in the history of this tomb we do not know, but it is natural to suppose that it continued to be, as it had been, the property of Joseph, and was known as such.

The four Gospels are explicit in their testimony that the tomb belonged to a man named Joseph of Arimathea; that it was cut in the rock; that it was new; that no dead body had previously been laid there; and one or more of the writers give the impression that this disposition of the body of Jesus was hasty and was not designed to be permanent. There is no evidence, nor is there any reason for supposing, that this tomb of Joseph immediately became known as the tomb of Jesus and at once began to be venerated as such.

We may suppose a similar event to occur in modern times. Some friends go from one part of a country to a distant city and one of them dies by accident or violence. A kindly disposed person offers a room where the body can remain until it is properly cared for and removed to a permanent burial place. Now, however high the position of the deceased or however dear he may have been to his relatives and friends, it is not in the nature of things that this room where the body was laid should be cherished for generations. Even the best friends of the deceased, if they lived at a distance, would soon cease to care for it with any special feelings of reverence; and how about their children and grandchildren? The case of Jesus is much stronger; for in proportion as the facts of Christ's resurrection and ascension were universally

and firmly believed would the tomb where the body had been placed in an emergency diminish in importance. All the facts of the moment, the excitement, the mingled hopes and fears, the return of the disciples, family, and friends of Jesus to Galilee, would tend to divert attention from the place where the body had been laid in haste till, after the Sabbath, it could be properly buried. The blessed law of God's providence that Time is the great healer of mental wounds would operate then as it does now; the reappearance of Jesus by the Sea of Galilee and elsewhere would kindle new hopes in the minds of his friends; new duties would rise up daily to demand their thought; and thus little by little the place outside the walls of Jerusalem where the body was *not buried,* but where it *was laid for a few hours,* would be lost sight of.

As to the preservation of Joseph's tomb, it is beyond human reason and experience to suppose that anything remained intact after the wild ruin of A.D. 70 or that of A.D. 135, to say nothing of the unnumbered commotions, attended with the destruction of life and property, which visited Jerusalem during the three centuries between A.D. 30 and A.D. 330.

The building erected

The edifice which was erected on the site of the present Holy Sepulchre in A.D. 330 we have in general avoided speaking of as a "church." First, because it is impossible to use this word without attaching to it modern ideas; and, secondly, because we wished to make prominent the words which Constantine and Eusebius use. This we have done in describing the object found, and we wish to do the same in regard to the edifice that was erected.

Eusebius sometimes applies the word *ekkleesia,* εκκλησια, to any specific body of believers; sometimes to the Church in general; and in some instances he uses it of the edifice where divine service was held. In the *Life,* iv. 39, where a Pagan temple is contrasted with a

Christian church, he applies *neoos, νεως, temple,* to the former and *ekkleesia* to the latter. In his discourse at Tyre he uses *neoos* of the edifice which had been built under the care of Paulinus. Again he speaks of it as the *neoos, temple of God,* the same terms used by him when speaking of the Temple of Solomon. When, in this address, he alludes to the dedications of buildings which had taken place in different parts of the empire he calls them *proseukteerioon, προσευκτηριων,* prayer places.

The date of Book X. of the *History,* from which these instances have been taken, is A.D. 324. The next work in order of time is the *Oration,* A.D. 335. Referring to the structures that had been rebuilt after having been destroyed by their enemies, he calls them *neoon, νεων,* that is, temples. He specifies two buildings, one at Antioch and one at Jerusalem, to both of which he applies the term *neoos, temple* (IX. xvi.). In the same sentence, however, the completed edifice at Jerusalem is called *oikos eukteerios, οικος ευκτηριος,* prayer house; and, according to the *Life,* III. xxv. and xxix., before there was anything built at Jerusalem this was the term used to describe the proposed structure. There are a number of other references which it does not seem necessary to cite.

At the time of the dedication of the church in Tyre no discovery had yet been made in Jerusalem and of course no question had arisen about any structure there, hence no local influence could have operated on his mind. He chose such words as best conveyed his meaning—such as a Christian would use; he speaks of "temple," "temple of God," and "prayer place," but never of "basilica." There is no hint in Eusebius' writings that "basilica" meant to him a church or Christian edifice. He avoids the use of this word in such a connection. This is emphasized by the fact of his studious and uniform use of other words when he speaks of such structures. This was intentional, for between the discovery that was made in A.D. 326 and the completion of the *Life* ten or

eleven years elapsed, a sufficient time for Eusebius to have corrected what he had written or to have substituted one word for another, had he chosen to do so.

As to Constantine, every letter or document of his preserved in the *Life* has been carefully examined, and it appears that the Emperor uses the word *ekkleesia* a number of times, but in every case he refers to the Church in general, or to the organization of a local body of Christians, and never to the edifice in which worship is carried on.

In connection with the structure to be erected in Jerusalem the two men, with their two different methods of looking at the matter, are brought into contrast. Constantine uses, both of Jerusalem and Hebron, the word "basilica" and no other. Eusebius uses the term "prayer house." To Constantine, with his Pagan education, basilica meant a great deal. To Eusebius, with his Christian education, it meant so little that he never uses it in connection with the building erected at Jerusalem or with a place of divine worship. A *basilica* and a *prayer house* were as distinct in origin and purpose as could possibly be imagined. The chief idea of one was a market-place, with its miscellaneous adjuncts to suit public needs. The other was a place for prayer, possibly at first open to the sky, or a plain room, certainly for a long time humble apartments very far removed from the elaborate structures of a later period.

If Constantine had intended to order the erection of a place of Christian worship, there was more than one familiar word which he might have used to designate the structure. His avoidance of the ordinary word and his use of a strange word on the one hand, and Eusebius' use of the familiar word and his avoidance of the word which his royal master used on the other hand, is very significant and ought not to be overlooked or ignored. It is certain that the Christians of that period had not learned to associate the word basilica with a place of worship, and we may quite as positively assert that it

did not mean a place of Christian worship to Constantine.

It was a rule among Christians, so rigidly observed as to amount to a law, that no grave should be made inside a church. It is affirmed that up to the death of Constantine, A.D. 337, this was never done. But in Jerusalem over the "sacred cave" where it was claimed that the body of Jesus was laid, a church was built. This seems inconsistent; it looks like a violation of the spirit if not the letter of the law. A grave may not be made in a church, but a church may be erected over a grave.

In all this matter—the finding of the cave, what was said and done about it, the erecting of the buildings at this point—there is something mysterious, or not quite natural, clear, and straightforward. If a tomb was found and Eusebius wished to speak of it, why did he not do so? If Constantine wished to have a church erected in Jerusalem at this point, why did he not say so?

It is a well-known fact that the word "basilica" passed from Paganism to Christianity; but it did so by a very gradual process extending over several centuries. Those writers, therefore, who carry back a meaning which it had in late times to an earlier period when such a meaning was not known, are not dealing honestly with historical data. Such a process makes history impossible.

CHAPTER XL

NEHEMIAH

His Patriotic Work—The Rebuilding Chapter Historical—Pools Located—King's House and City of David—Shifting of Names—Stairs and Wall—House of the Mighty—Sepulchres of David—Evidences against the Ophel Ridge Theory of the City of David—Manasseh's Wall Explained—Gate between the Two Walls

Nehemiah

JEWISH affairs in Judea at the time when Nehemiah appeared were in a very depressed condition. The people were subject to a foreign power, they were poor and without special influence, religion was at a low ebb, and there seemed to be little hope of any change for the better. To lift up the Jews from their degradation and give them once more a place and a character that would command respect, to build the walls of Jerusalem, to re-people the city with inhabitants, to institute reforms in the life of his co-religionists, to complete the re-establishment of the Temple service, were dreams of Nehemiah, and we are astonished at the gigantic tasks which he accomplished. When he appeared Jerusalem was a heap of ruins; when he disappeared from history (for we have no account of his death) Jerusalem was again a city with walls and battlements; song and sacrifice rose again from the Holy Hill, his people had been aroused from their moral lethargy and had begun to be inspired with feelings of new-born national character. Nehemiah was a man of uncommon energy, he cherished far-reaching plans, and he proved himself to be one of Israel's greatest religious and political leaders. In whatever age or clime his people live they owe to him a debt of gratitude.

Book of Nehemiah

In many respects the book which bears the name of Nehemiah is one of the most interesting of the Old Testament and also one of the most difficult. At the first glance we think we have found an invaluable guide to the politics, religion, internal affairs, and topography of Jerusalem for the period which it covers, a very important period, namely, the middle of the fifth century before our era. After a careful study of it with all the helps that exist,—and the helps are very few because commentators and other writers cannot tell us more than is known,—we find that it is a work of curious construction, that it is not by one hand, that records of various other dates have been incorporated into it which prevent its being a continuous narrative of actual events, that it exhibits a lack of sequence and of logical arrangement,—a most prominent characteristic, to be sure, of the Jewish mind, but which, nevertheless, is exceedingly troublesome,—and that, in general, it is not so clear and definite as we thought. Chapters iii. and xii. have been declared "to contain the most valuable materials for settling the topography of Jerusalem to be found in Scripture." But so far from elucidating Jerusalem's topography, they form a puzzle to solve which requires more than ordinary skill. This, however, must not be charged wholly to the author or compiler of the records, but is due in a measure to the lapse of time which buries in oblivion most topographical as well as other details. In reality the hints contained in these two chapters and in other parts of the book are invaluable; they show that certain things existed, although their localities and relative positions may not be readily determined.

Chapter of the rebuilding

Nehemiah, chapter iii., is not to be regarded as merely an honorary list of individuals and families that took part in rebuilding the walls and gates, but it is to be accepted rather as an historical account of that work of reconstruction, and hence we are to look in the main for topographical sequence in the different sections

mentioned. This is confirmed by the fact, to refer to one particular only, that the work commences at the Sheep Gate and goes around the city step by step until the same point is again reached.

The gates

The list of gates in the book of Nehemiah is surprising, considering the fact that Josephus mentions two only, the Gate Gennath and the Gate of the Essenes. Nehemiah mentions seven gates which are not mentioned before him, namely, Dung, Fountain, Miphkad, Old, Prison, Sheep, and Water. Four of these seven new names belong to the east side of the Temple area,—Miphkad, Prison, Sheep, and Water,—while Old, Dung, and Fountain belong to the walls that lie to the west of the Temple area. He gives the names of five other gates which were mentioned before him, East, Ephraim, Fish, Horse, and Valley, of which two—East and Horse—belong to the east side of the Temple. Thus we have Fish, Old, and Ephraim on the north, Valley on the west, Dung and Fountain on the south of the city, six in all, and six on the east of the Temple area. Those which concern us especially are, beginning with the Sheep Gate, where the work of reconstruction commenced, and following round by the west, the Fish, Old, Valley, Dung, until we come to the Fountain Gate on the east side of the Tyropean valley not far from the present south wall of the city.

Night ride of Nehemiah

In Nehemiah's connection with Jerusalem the account of his night ride about the city forms a curious episode. There were a few persons with him and but one animal, the ass upon which Nehemiah himself rode. Precautions were taken to keep the affair a secret. He went out of the city by the Valley Gate and went round by the south to the Dung Gate. Thence he crossed over the Tyropean valley to the Gate of the Fountain and the King's Pool; the way being blocked, he attempted to go up the valley, the Tyropean, but soon turned back and retraced his

steps to the Valley Gate, where he again entered the city.

The account is very interesting in several particulars. He starts before he says that it is to be a secret journey; he nearly completes the trip before he tells us what the object of it is. When he reaches the Dung Gate he stops to say that "he has viewed the walls and gates and observed their condition; that the walls were broken down and the gates were consumed with fire." But the gates were consumed one hundred and fifty years before this time, and as to the fallen wall he has really seen but a small portion of it. After crossing over to the Gate of the Fountain and the King's Pool he went up the valley, and says again that "he viewed the wall." Thence he returned to the point of starting. His purpose was, evidently, to ascertain the condition of the walls of Jerusalem. But he saw only a portion of the walls, not more than one-third; he passed three gates only, and it is just possible that these could have been located by him by low or open places in the line of ruined wall.

During his residence in Jerusalem, the writer has several times tried to discover by actual experiment how much Nehemiah could have seen. It must be stated that the moon in this country, especially when it is at its best, is far brighter than it is in America. There letters cannot be read by moonlight, but in Syria this can easily be done. The observations were recorded immediately upon reaching home, as follows: Can read writing or printing if held in the hand a little less than the usual distance from the eyes: signs on the shops cannot be read except when very near them: at a distance of 100 feet no object can be seen clearly: in shadow not possible to see anything: shadows of the olive trees are perfectly black: at 200 or even 100 feet from the wall could not distinguish between broken rocks of a natural cliff or ledge, and stones of a fallen wall: stones newly prepared for building, as they are nearly white, distin-

guished at 100 feet: weather-beaten stones, which are always dark, could not be distinguished at the same distance.

Nehemiah's journey was made in the night. To make one's way near a fallen wall among the many blocks of stones would be a difficult thing to do even in the daytime. The fallen stones would have made it impossible for him to have gone near the wall, therefore he must have made his way zigzag at a considerable distance from it. The rugged outline of the wall and great piles of stones could be distinguished, and here and there low places where possibly gates had formerly been; but details of any kind it would have been a physical impossibility for him to have seen.

The purpose of the foregoing observations is not to disparage the records, but to show that Nehemiah in his night ride could not have seen or learned very much.

The Dragon Well

Nehemiah in his night ride went out of the city by the Valley Gate. This he associates with the "Dragon Well" for the evident purpose of fixing its location more definitely. As the word for "well" is *ain,* the name should be Dragon Fountain. The Hebrew word translated "dragon" is *thannin,* תנין, which means some kind of monster, a gigantic, powerful, hideous creature, a winged lizard, a crocodile, or a great sea serpent, the word "dragon" covering them all. If we accept this word as the one which the writer actually intended to use, we naturally raise a question as to its origin, and wonder if at any time such awful creatures existed in Jerusalem. For this question there is only a negative answer.

Josephus (V. iii. 2) speaks of "The Serpents' Pool" west of the Jaffa Gate, by which is meant the present Birket Mamilla. But the Greek word used by him means "pool," "pond," "reservoir," and not fountain. Moreover, the word for "serpents," used as we use the

word snakes, is *ophis, οφις,* and is in the plural. As the word for "pool" does not mean fountain, neither does the word for "serpent" mean a monster of any kind. Thus the two Hebrew and Greek names, while they have a resemblance in English, and while the supposition of their being identical has been maintained, the words composing them in the two languages do not correspond. For serpent or snake the Hebrew had the special word *nachash,* נָחָשׁ, which is often used and which is the only word applied to this reptile. This is the equivalent of the Greek word *ophis.*

The word *thannin* as used in Nehemiah is unique, there being no other similar use of it in the Bible.

The words *panim* and *el,* פָּנִים, אֶל, in the passage in question are sometimes used of direction as well as relative position, in which case the combination would mean eastward, that is, east of some other object. This meaning, which is legitimate, may not be required in this instance, simply "before," "in front of," being perhaps the more suitable.

Should it be decided that Nehemiah referred to the Birket Mamilla, the Dragon Fountain and the Valley Gate would be 2,000 feet apart,which seems to be a serious objection; but an explanation which places the fountain very near the Valley Gate would seem to be much more natural and hence much more likely to be correct.

Quite a large section of the ground to the northwest of Birket Mamilla is swampy; grass grows there in small clumps; water stands there after rains; in the winter and spring, even when no water is standing, it is muddy and people avoid walking across it. This marshy place, with the dry slopes and the many rocks about it, is very favorable for snakes. This, which is the testimony of many people, seems to have always been so. In this country a locality often receives from a slight circumstance a name that is long-enduring. The name used by Josephus could easily have originated from the fact

just mentioned, so that "Snake Pool" may be a perfectly natural name.

The Valley Gate, which was at or near the present Jaffa Gate, had in connection with it, in Josephus' time (V. vi. 5), an aqueduct by which water was introduced into the Tower of Hippicus. (See Chapter XIV.) This was true down till very recent years. Practically the same conditions existed in the time of Nehemiah and in fact from the time that a castle was first erected on this site. The statement seems to be justified by the words of Nehemiah that the gate and the fountain were closely connected. The aqueduct which brought the water was winding, and there may have been several points of discharge near the gate, which certainly would have been a great convenience, for as soon as the castle cistern was filled the water could be diverted to the public use. The shape of the aqueduct and that of the points of discharge could have been in such peculiar form as to suggest a peculiar name which would be serpentine. There is no reason why the Hebrews should not have used this word as well as ourselves. When we use the word, we do not picture a great boa constrictor moving before us, for our thoughts are fixed on the motion made and not on the creature making it.

Another explanation, however, is offered to which there can be no possible objection. Figures of lions and other animals were a common feature of Eastern cities, about palaces, halls, gardens, and public places. They were known also in Jerusalem. European cities are full of them to-day. The jets of water in Herod's Garden on Mount Zion may have passed through the mouths of fish, birds, or animals, according as it was thought that public taste would be pleased. Nehemiah's fountain at the Jaffa Gate may have been in the form of some peculiar animal, a *thannin,* a monster if one wishes, and the object have been as well known as the Valley Gate itself. In this case the "Dragon Fountain" would be

appropriately named, and so would "the Serpents' Pool" of Josephus, as we have seen, and neither would have any connection with the other.

Positions of Dung and Fountain Gates

All the evidence we have shows that the Dung Gate and the Fountain Gate were in close proximity, with a valley between them which must be passed over, *'abar*, עבר, to go from one to the other. This valley was the Tyropean. Likewise, all the existing evidence shows that the Fountain Gate and the Stairs were in close proximity to each other. Therefore both the Fountain Gate and the Stairs must be nearer the Dung Gate than they are to Siloam, and the events in Neh. iii. 15, which are (1) Fountain Gate, (2) Siloam, (3) Stairs, cannot be in regular order, since the Stairs are placed further down the valley than Siloam, whereas they should be placed to the north of that point. The writer starts with the Fountain Gate, goes south to Siloam, and turns back thence to mention the Stairs, which were near the Fountain Gate.

Fountain Gate: En Rogel

How came there to be a Gate of the Fountain in the south wall of Jerusalem? The name was not given without a purpose.

One of the oldest names in the Bible, counting from the advent of the Israelites, is En Rogel. It belonged to the early well-digging period. It is used as a landmark in the division of the country under Joshua. It was an important source of water supply for the inhabitants of Jerusalem. As soon as Jerusalem had a wall on the south, a gate would be made in it for the convenience of the inhabitants in going to this fountain, and Gate of the Fountain—*ain*—would be the appropriate name for it. The fact that this gate is not mentioned till the time of Nehemiah is no proof that it did not previously exist. The Bible does not give the history of the gates of Jerusalem, but only mentions them incidentally when required. Nehemiah, in mentioning the Gate of the

Fountain, does not refer to any particular fountain, since he mentions it only to indicate a certain locality. He never uses the word "ain" of any place, object, or body of water south of the city, and in his mention of Siloam he calls it a *bereechah,* ברכה, which means pool, the Arabic *birkeh.*

Words for fountain, pool, spring

To express cistern, fountain, pool, pond, spring, well, etc., the Hebrew had a variety of words. *Beer,* בּיר, is the usual word for well, or cistern (meaning a place dug under ground), and is very commonly translated pit. *En* or *'ain,* עין, is the word for eye and also for fountain. It is used in the Bible upwards of 850 times, in only 16 of which is it rendered fountain and these relate to seven different occasions. Of these seven, four belong to very early Hebrew history, one to the time of Hezekiah, and two occur in Nehemiah. *Bereechah* is the usual word for pool, for which a suitable English word is reservoir. At Samaria, at Gibeon, and at Hebron there was a bereechah. In connection with Jerusalem the "old" or "upper," the "lower," and the "pool that Hezekiah made," which corresponds to the "lower" pool, all bore this name. This is the word employed by Nehemiah, who uses it for "the king's pool," "the pool that was made" (by Hezekiah), and the "pool of Siloam."

As a fountain near a village is a well-known feature of the country, it is not strange that its name, ain, should be compounded with many names of places in the Bible. This is also common in modern times. The second part of the name En Rogel is said to be derived from *ragel,* רגל, which occurs 26 times, 23 meaning *to spy,* 2 *to slander,* and 1 *to go.* There is no Biblical use of the word meaning *to tread, to wash,* from which "rogel," the "washer," "fuller," can be derived. If this name is to be rendered "fountain of the fuller" it ought to be possible to trace its derivation. The related word *ma'ayan,* מעין, is translated fountain and chiefly used

in a general way of water sources, except in the case of Nephtoah, the modern Lifta, where it refers to the village spring (Josh. xv. 9; xviii. 15).

Water that bursts out from a deep recess in the rocks, from a place naturally or artificially sunk in the earth, or from the surface of the ground, is in each case properly described as a fountain, *'ain.*

Three pools

In the rebuilding done under Nehemiah the Dung Gate was repaired and next in order was the Gate of the Fountain, *ain.* From this point there is a skip to "the wall of the pool of Siloah by the king's garden." Pool here is *bereechah.* As Siloah (Siloam) was at the extreme end of the hill-spur popularly called Ophel, there could be nothing further south, hence there was a return "to the stairs that go down from the City of David" (iii. 15).

In his night ride Nehemiah was at the Dung Gate and passed thence over, *'abar,* the valley known now as the Tyropean, to the Gate of the ain, Fountain Gate, and very near this point eastward was "the king's pool" (ii. 14). Pool is *bereechah.* As this bereechah was located at a considerable distance from the Siloah bereechah, the two could not be identical.

After the repairs at the Dung Gate, the Fountain Gate, and the Pool of Siloah were completed, and as there was no wall south of the last point, the workmen turned back and went somewhere else. In the section to which they went there is mentioned as a landmark "the pool that was made" (iii. 16). Pool is *bereechah.* The reference is to the pool whose construction is ascribed to Hezekiah in 2 Kings xx. 20, which was a great benefaction to Jerusalem.

Thus Nehemiah mentions as landmarks in his time three pools located in three different parts of the city, distinct and having no connection with each other. The Pool of Siloah at one end of the line, the Pool that was made, the present Pool of Hezekiah, at the other end of

the line, and the King's Pool not far from the Fountain Gate which was just across the Tyropean valley from the Dung Gate.

In describing the course of the First Wall Josephus states that after bending above, *huper,*—that is, on the hill (Zion) to the north or northwest of Siloam,—it went down to or towards the Reservoir of Solomon. The words are *kolumbeethran Solomoonos,* κολυμβηθραν Σολομωνος (V. iv. 2), meaning bath, bathing place, or pool. We do not know the origin of this pool, but the localities of Nehemiah and of Josephus are identical, and therefore the predecessor of Solomon's Reservoir in Josephus was the King's Pool in Nehemiah. The writer did not give one name to a certain pool in ii. 14, and quite a different name to the same pool in iii. 16; the "King's Pool" and "the Pool that was made" were two distinct pools, and neither of them had anything to do with the Pool of Siloam, which receives its own separate and distinct mention.

Brook, valley, nachal

Nehemiah, in the account of his night ride, ii. 15, says that after leaving the Dung Gate he crossed over, *'abar,* the valley to the Fountain Gate, but found that he could not proceed either east or south, so he tried to go up the valley, *nachal,* and this likewise proved to be impossible. Hence he returned as he came. This nachal was the Tyropean, near the present southwest corner of the Temple area.

The present aqueduct comes from the Upper Pool of Gihon and enters the city at the head of the Tyropean valley. This was the course of "the brook that ran through the midst of the land" as mentioned in connection with Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4). "Brook" is nachal, a watercourse that carries water during the rainy season but which is dry in summer. By means of this watercourse the overflow of the Upper Pool of Gihon was carried down through the city.

In the account of Manasseh's building a wall (2

Chron. xxxiii. 14) it is said that it began "on the west side of Gihon in the valley, *nachal.*" "Gihon in the valley" was in the upper end of the Tyropean, and nachal in these two passages refers to one and the same thing. (See later in this chapter.)

Here are three events connected with one and the same valley, which in each case is called *nachal.*

City of David: King's house

The four passages relating to the capture of the City of David, and the eight relating to the removal into it of the Ark, were all previous to the time of Solomon and have no reference to the site of his house. Of the three passages referring to Solomon's wife one speaks of her entering the City of David and two of her leaving it. She went away from the City of David to another locality where Solomon's palace had been built. Three passages have reference to repairs and twenty-two to burials. *Thus forty of the forty-four passages where the City of David is mentioned furnish no hints as to its situation.* Of the four remaining passages one refers to the bringing of water to the City of David by Hezekiah, another to the building of a wall on its west side by Manasseh, and two others mention stairs connected with it by which the singers ascended in the dedication services of the newly built wall under Nehemiah (xii. 37).

It has been shown that all available hints indicate that the Pool of Hezekiah is the one built by that king to which he brought water from the Upper Pool of Gihon, and likewise that Manasseh's wall was to the west of Hezekiah's Pool, therefore these passages forbid the location of the City of David on the Ophel ridge.

On the other hand, the two passages in Nehemiah seem clearly to indicate that the City of David was on the Ophel ridge and near or quite at its northern end (iii. 15; xii. 37).

In 2 Kings xxv. 9 it is said that Nebuzaradan, the general of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who had invaded Judea, "burned the house of the Lord, and the

king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem." The same is repeated in Jer. lii. 13. "King's house" is a common phrase from David all through the historical period. But although the same words are used, "king's house" in the history of David is not the same as "king's house" of later times. After Hiram had built a palace for David, that was the "king's house" on whose "roof David walked" and at whose "doors his servants slept" (2 Sam. v. 11; xi. 2, 9). After Solomon built a royal palace, somewhere away from the City of David, that became the "king's house," which is the one always referred to as such from that time on till its destruction by the Chaldeans in B.C. 586. "The house of the Lord" and "the king's house" are, in this account of their being burned, represented as in near proximity to each other. Nearly all the references to these houses from the time of their completion to their destruction justify this, and this period covers a little less than 400 years.

Nehemiah, xii. 37, uses the words "above the house of David" as though it were existing at that moment. But the "king's house" which was Solomon's was burned 140 years before Nehemiah wrote. The last burial in the "City of David" was 275 years before Nehemiah. Hezekiah's Pool was made 265 years before Nehemiah, and Manasseh's wall west of the City of David was built 235 years before him. Here is a long period of between two hundred and three hundred years when there is no mention or reference to the City of David. And between the burning of the Temple and palaces by the general of Nebuchadnezzar and the rebuilding of the walls and edifices by Nehemiah was a period of 140 years when the city lay practically in ruins. During this period there was time for many things to be forgotten and many shiftings to be made.

Migration of names

As one enters Jerusalem by the Jaffa Gate he sees on his right hand a large rambling half-ruined castle and is told that it is the Castle of David. Ordinary writers,

scholars, and guide-books all use this name; but no scholar, at least, believes for a moment that David had anything to do with it. It is not necessary to account for the transference of this name to this place; the fact alone affords the illustration needed.

Another migration of a name is the place of Stephen's martyrdom; it was at the Damascus Gate; but about 1,200 A.D. it was removed to the east side of the city.

A habit of Orientals is to ascribe a certain work to the greatest personage known to them. Thus King Solomon gets the credit for some things which came into existence long after his time. Even now a certain tomb near Jerusalem is called "Gordon's Tomb," although that famous general had nothing to do with it.

Similar conditions existed in the time of Nehemiah. Between his time and the burning of the royal palace in B.C. 586, more than four generations of men had lived and passed away. In popular speech the name of Solomon was dropped, although his palace had stood for nearly 400 years, and the name of David substituted. David was the nation's greatest king, to whom as time went on higher and higher honors were paid. Nehemiah mentions the name of Solomon five times, three times in mere lists of names, and twice in connection with religious matters, never in connection with buildings or localities. It is curious that in the Bible very little is said about Solomon after his death, and the occurrence of the name of David as compared with that of Solomon is as four to one.

As to the "house of David" in Neh. xii. 37, it is impossible to suppose that the writer wished it to be understood that it was at that time actually standing. Neither can we say that the writer made an intentional misstatement; but we can account for it by the law of migration of names as illustrated by well-known examples in connection with Jerusalem, and also by the ever increasing estimation in which the great king of Israel was held.

The argument of those who advocate the Ophel ridge theory is this:—because Nehemiah states that the stairs of the City of David and the wall went up above the house of David, therefore the City of David stood on Ophel.

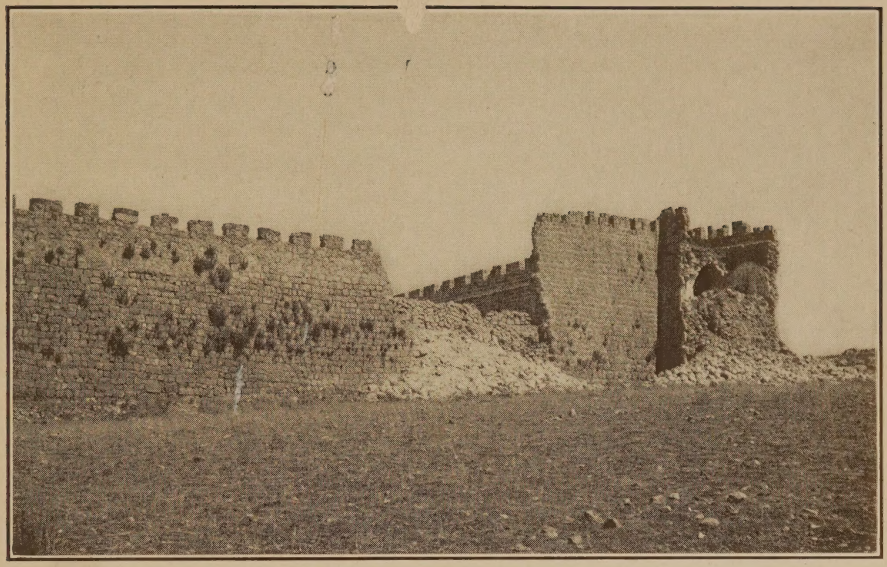
To which this is a parallel:—because a modern writer states that near the Jaffa Gate stands the Castle of David, therefore the Castle of David was at that point.

Both statements must receive the same treatment; if a question is raised in the one case it must be in the other; if the one statement is accepted as final so must the other be. If in the modern instance we affirm that the name has migrated, in the ancient instance we must or may affirm the same.

The Stairs

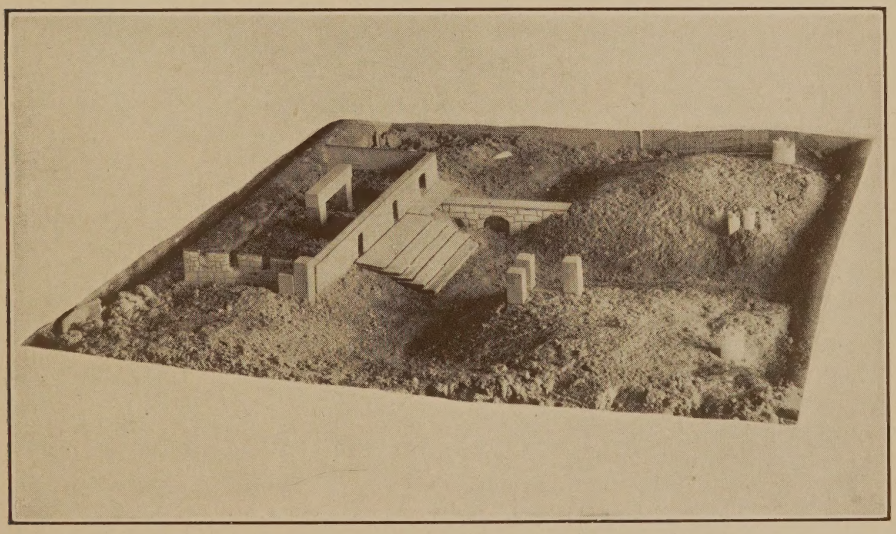
These are mentioned in two places in Nehemiah, iii. 15 and xii. 37, both referring to the same stairs. They go down or up according to the direction one has in mind. The briefer statement is in xii. 37, where the Stairs and the Water Gate are mentioned in the same sentence, all points between them being omitted. In the third chapter we consider verse 16 as a section by itself; and commencing with verse 17 there are between the mention of the Stairs and the Water Gate eleven sections that were repaired. This fact shows that these two points were at a considerable distance from each other.

In the Hebrew, stairs and ascent, while they are from the same root, *'alah,* עלה, *to go up, to ascend,* are quite distinct from each other. In xii. 37 both words are used in their usual and natural signification, *maaloth,* מעלות, *stairs,* and *maaleh,* מעלה, *ascent.* Stairs ascend or they would not be stairs, but ascent means something quite different from stairs. Neither word, however, is to be confounded with causeway, raised place, *m'sillah,* מסלה, which is from *salal,* סלל, *to raise up,* and not *to go up,* which is the meaning of the former word.



A FALLEN WALL

Two large sections of the east wall of the castle and khan at Sŏlomon's Pool fell down during the year 1904.



MODEL OF THE TYROPEAN VALLEY, RUNNING EAST AND SOUTH FROM THE JAFFA GATE

The "broad valley" from the north; the castles of Uzziah at three different points; the Causeway and Stairs of Josephus and the Stairs of Nehemiah. The three pillars in the centre represent Acra. The model was not made to scale.

Sometimes an inclined road, or a street in a city, has steps at different intervals to break the slope, as, for example, David street in Jerusalem at the present time; but no one ever thinks of applying the word stairs to this street. It would not be appropriate to do so, since stairs indicate many steps at regular or pretty regular intervals on a steep incline. The stairs of Nehemiah were well built and commodious. They were not narrow, where two people could scarcely pass each other, but elaborate and broad, so as to accommodate a multitude of people and at the same time be considered an ornament to the city.

It is very satisfactory to find that the stairs of Nehemiah are described by Josephus in *Antiq.,* XV. xi. 5, quite independently of the Biblical writer, as follows:— "In the western side of the (Temple) enclosure there were four gates,—one leading to the palace, the intervening valley being walled up by a causeway, forming a passage across, two to the suburbs, and the remaining one to the other city, the way down into the valley being divided by many steps, and thence up again towards the approach (from the opposite direction)." "The other city" means the Acra or Lower Town, north of modern Zion.

It is possible to locate these stairs with approximate correctness. We have seen that in the struggles between John and Simon, John holding the Temple area and Simon the rest of the city, each party made assaults on the other; as one party advanced the other was driven back; this process was repeated many times, and the destruction of property, the burning of storehouses and the like, was great. A very noticeable fact in connection with these raids is, that to get at each other the troops of John always *went down,* while those of Simon always *went up.* Another significant fact is that the Upper City, with its bridge (Robinson's arch) and causeway (further north) leading thence to the Temple, are never once mentioned in connection with these strug-

gles. The contending parties did not pass back and forth by either causeway or bridge, but their movements were always to the north of these. This is precisely what we should expect from the nature of the ground. Even now, if a person in Jerusalem anywhere outside the Temple area wishes to go to the Mosque, he must go down into the valley and up again before reaching the Temple or Mosque area. To a great extent this valley has been filled, so that these up-and-down positions were, in former times, much more strongly marked.

The "palace" in Josephus' description just quoted is probably that of the Asmoneans, since that was on the east side of Zion, while the Palace of Herod the Great was on the west side and is spoken of as the "Royal Palace." (See Chapters XIII. and XXVI.)

Stairs similar to those now described exist in many European cities where the ground is undulating or hilly, and they furnish an excellent illustration of those in Nehemiah and Josephus.

The words of Josephus in his description, "thence up again towards the approach," mean the rise in the ground near the Acra, the region just east of the Holy Sepulchre.

House of the Mighty

Nehemiah, in chapter iii. 16, mentions "The house of the mighty," and in verse 19 "the armory." These were two different structures in two different parts of the city. The Hebrew words are also different; the one is connected with fighting men, heroes, fortifications, and the other means a place for weapons. Isaiah speaks of "the armor of the house of the forest" (xxii. 8), and the reference is to "the house of the forest of Lebanon" built by Solomon, which was a sort of armory, museum, and treasure house combined (1 Kings vii. 2; x. 17, 21; 2 Chron. ix. 16, 20). The Hebrew word is *neshek*, נשק. It was the site or possibly the ruins of this ancient structure, or some building that had been substituted for it, that Nehemiah had in mind.

Verse 16 constitutes a section by itself; it has no connection with what goes before or what follows after. Three important places are mentioned,—

1. Over against the Sepulchres of David,
2. The Pool that was made, and
3. The House of the Mighty.

These three objects are in close proximity to each other; the phrase "over against" applies to them all alike, and their relation to a particular section of the wall seems to be emphasized. The phrase "house of the mighty," *gibborim*, גברים, is not used elsewhere in the Bible. Strength, power of resistance, hence citadel, are its natural meanings. The Acra of Jerusalem, its great historical fortress from the earliest period, we have traced back to at least 200 years B.C., and it is almost certain that Nehemiah 240 years earlier referred to this stronghold.

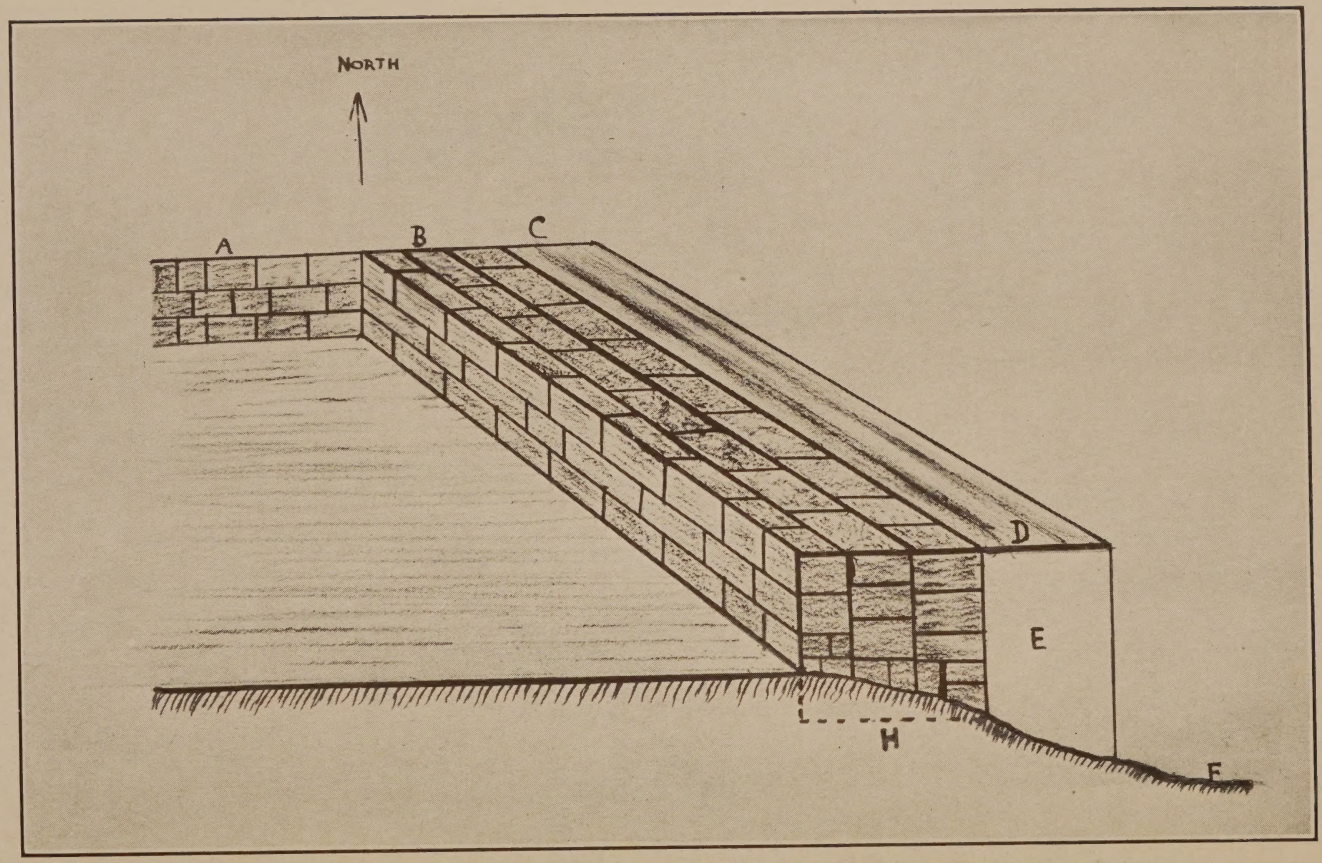
Unless verse 16 is taken by itself the wall between the Mahkameh and the Jaffa Gate was not repaired. Accepting this wall as that meant in this verse, it would most naturally be described as "over against" the three important objects mentioned.

Gate of Ephraim; Corner Gate; Broad Wall

The Gate of Ephraim does not actually appear in the list of gates rebuilt by Nehemiah, although there is a place where it seems to belong which is occupied by a mention of "the Broad Wall" (iii. 8). The dedication ceremonies go in the reverse order to the rebuilding, and in this account this gate is mentioned (xii. 39). It was on the north side of the city and for many reasons is known to have been the chief gate in that part. Its importance cannot be appreciated without referring to earlier records, where it is spoken of in connection with the Corner Gate. This was soon after 800 B.C., or about 135 years after the death of Solomon, at the time when Joash or Jehoash, king of Israel, defeated Amaziah, king of Judah, pursued him to Jerusalem, and broke down 400 cubits of the north wall of the city "from the

Gate of Ephraim unto the Corner Gate" (2 Kings xiv. 13; 2 Chron. xx 23). The direction of this work of destruction was from east to west. No one can suppose that this wall was broken down immediately after it had been built, hence the statement is justified that it had been in existence many years. It is not known who repaired this wall, but about twenty years later Uzziah built towers at the Corner Gate the better to defend the city from a similar attack (2 Chron. xxvi. 9). It is noticeable that in the accounts of defending the city or strengthening its defences the east and south sides are not mentioned; attention and care were directed mainly if not wholly to the north and northwest sides, which were more exposed and the direction whence the enemy always approached. The Corner Gate is next mentioned in Jeremiah about B.C. 606, and by Zechariah in nearly the same language about B.C. 487 (Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 10). It does not appear again. These two passages describe the north wall of the city from the extreme northeast to the extreme northwest limit; the eastern point being the Tower of Hananeel, near where the later Antonia stood, while the western was the northwest corner of Jerusalem.

Counting back from 1889, Jerusalem for three, four, or more centuries has had no gate between the Jaffa Gate and the Damascus Gate, and from Nehemiah's record there was none between the Valley Gate (Jaffa Gate) and the Gate of Ephriam. In the dedication, going eastward, the Gate of Ephraim, the Old and Fish Gates, the Towers Hananeel and Meah, and the Sheep Gate, follow each other as consecutive points. Every one knows how important the Damascus Gate is to Jerusalem at the present time, and such in ancient times we believe to have been the importance of the Gate of Ephraim. This gate, the predecessor of the Damascus Gate but situated considerably to the west of it, led to a rich and populous part of Judea and to wealthy cities in the north. This gate, first mentioned 350 years before the



WALL ON THE EAST SIDE OF POOL OF HEZEKIAH

The south wall of the Pool of Hezekiah is removed, showing across the water the north wall A and the massive supporting wall B on the east. Christian street, C D, now on the same level as the wall, is built on débris of unknown depth. See fuller details in the text.

time of Nehemiah, still existed in the north wall of Jerusalem when it was repaired by him. Both wall and gate were the same, or at least occupied the same sites as those that had existed centuries before.

It seems to be certain that about the Gate of Ephraim there was ample ground; it might be called a "public square"; it was not the market of the city, still sellers from the country loitered there and were met by buyers from the town, so that it was always a busy place. Inside the gate was also a wide roomy area where on feast days tents or booths were pitched (viii. 16). The conviction is forced upon us that in some way the Broad Wall and the Gate of Ephraim were closely connected, but exactly how they were related or what special purpose the Broad Wall served is not known. It has been suggested that by "Broad Wall" is meant the eastern wall of the Pool of Hezekiah between that and Christian street, but this was required to prevent the great body of water in the pool from breaking away and flooding the Market-place and the other parts of the Lower City lying to the east of it.

As to the importance of the Gate of Ephraim an illustrative fact is found in the history of the siege, for Titus attacked the Second Wall on its north side at its central tower. As he faced the wall he had behind him, in the New City, "the Wool Market, the Braziers' Shops, and the Clothes Market" (V. viii. 1). Likewise, "the Timber Market," which had recently been burned by Cestius, was in this vicinity and should be added to the group. These circumstances show that about the chief gate of the city on the north traffic largely centred, which confirms what is claimed for this great thoroughfare and for the roominess of the space about it.

The massiveness of the wall on the east side of the Pool of Hezekiah deserves special attention, and the Illustration will enable one to understand its character and position. The south wall of the pool—that is, the

one to the left of David street going east—is removed, so that a person is looking north. The south end of both Christian street and the supporting wall is also shown.

A is the north wall of the pool.

B is the supporting wall on the east of the pool. This is now covered with buildings averaging about 25 feet deep (front to rear), which represents the width of the wall.

C D is Christian street. This is now nearly on a level with the floors of the shops which are on the supporting wall. It is 15 feet wide.

E—The composition of what is below Christian street is not known. Before the Muristan was filled houses were erected against the supporting wall, and one of these was uncovered as described in Chapter XXXVIII. Such houses were doubtless, as in other parts of the city, alternately destroyed and rebuilt, till finally the present street was made on top of the accumulated mass of débris.

F represents the bottom of the Church of St. John the Baptist, which is just east of Christian street, and originally this was the surface of the ground, although its depth below Christian street is now not far from 25 feet.

H—The ground, or rock, inclined upward from the Muristan under Christian street and the supporting wall to the west side of the Pool of Hezekiah, and it is probable that the supporting wall was sunk into this slope as indicated by the dotted lines. A notable example of this method of securing the foundations of walls is that at the southeast corner of the Temple area nearly 70 feet below the present surface of the ground.

While the supporting wall on the east of the pool is the only one described, that on the south between David street and the pool must likewise have been of the same massive character.

This pool as it is at present is capable of holding nearly 12,000 tons of water, the pressure of which on a square foot it is not difficult to estimate.

It is not clear why this supporting wall on the east of the Pool of Hezekiah, which had a natural mission of its own, should ever have been thought of as representing the Broad Wall of Nehemiah. (1) The proximity of Nehemiah's Broad Wall to the Gate of Ephraim, the principal gate on the north of the city, cannot be disputed. (2) It was on the line of the wall that was repaired. (3) It was not itself repaired. (4) Judging from the way in which it is mentioned, it seems to have been a point of division. (5) There is no hint as to its character or purpose. (6) This location for the Broad Wall has no evidence whatever in its support, and is contradicted by the distance between it and the Valley Gate, which does not allow of the five sections of city wall that were repaired, and by the fact that the contour of the ground makes it impossible that a wall should ever have existed here.

Manasseh's Wall

Some of the facts and dates connected with the Corner Gate, the Gate of Ephraim, and the wall that was broken down, help us in understanding what was actually done by Manasseh. This king "built an outer wall to the City of David westward of Gihon in the valley (nachal), even to the entering in of the Fish Gate" (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14). The Fish Gate was not far to the west or northwest of the Tower of Hananeel, which stood in the immediate region of the later Antonia. The wall began just west of the Pool of Hezekiah and ran round by the north to Antonia or a point near it, where it terminated. On the west and north sides the City of David must have had defences from the earliest times. The passages in 2 Kings xiv. 13 and 2 Chron. xxv. 23 show that such defences existed and Manasseh's work was additional. It is possible that for "built" in this interesting bit of history we should read rebuilt, as we

have to do in so many other places. (See earlier in this chapter under Nachal.)

Rebuilding the walls

The rebuilding of the walls as recorded in Nehemiah brings to light many interesting particulars. With chapter iii., chapter xii. must be considered, as they are inseparably connected. Certain points in the details of the work are definite and serve as landmarks, of which the following are indicated. The Sheep Gate was at the northeast corner of the city as it then was, before the deep valley just south of St. Stephen's Gate was filled. The towers Meah and Hananeel were not far from where the later Antonia stood. The Gate of Ephraim was the principal gate on the north of the city, leading to the large towns and wealthy districts of Samaria and Galilee. The Valley Gate was near the present Jaffa Gate. The Dung Gate was not far from the present gate of that name. Between it and the Gate of the Fountain, a valley, the "nachal" of chapter ii. 15, had to be crossed, *'abar*, which was the Tyropean. The Pool of Siloam was the same as now, and the site of the King's Garden is well known. The same is true of Ophel, whence the wall ran north pretty direct to the Sheep Gate, its starting point.

The names of some of the gates indicate their special purpose, Sheep, Fish, Ephraim, Valley, Dung, and Fountain. Sheep were brought in great numbers, then as now, to the north side of the city, but in those days to a point farther east, since the consumption of them in the Temple was so vast. Quantities of fish were brought from Tyre, and special choice varieties from the Sea of Galilee, for general use and for the many feasts, and Fish Gate on the north, between the Sheep Gate and the Gate of Ephriam, was appropriately named. Since Dung Gate is first mentioned in Nehemiah, it may have succeeded to the "Gate between the two walls," which was in this immediate vicinity and mentioned 150 years before Nehemiah wrote. Fountain Gate could have only

one possible origin, the gate through which people passed to reach the water supply.—On the possibility of Dung Gate being changed to "Milk Gate" see the reasons in its favor in Chapter X.

From the beginning to the end of the work forty-one sections are mentioned, and of these, beginning at the Sheep Gate and going round by the north, west, and south to the Pool of Siloam, there are twenty sections. Thence in fourteen sections Ophel is reached, and in seven more the Sheep Gate, which was the starting point. For valid reasons it seems best not to regard iii. 26 as a section, but simply as a statement of fact as to the residence of the Nethinims, the Temple servants. Their name indicates their occupation and rank, and it would not be expected of them that they should build walls. Moreover, the narrative is more connected and easier of explanation if we do not try to introduce a word which we must do if we make it a separate section.

In order to complete the view of the rebuilding a few additional facts may be noted, some of which are important for our present purpose. For example, the length of the sections is not the same, various reasons preventing its being so. The nature of the ground made the difficulties of building greater in some parts than in others, and this would affect the length of the sections. Some were the length of a single house, possibly not a large house either. In verse 28 several pieces done by individual priests, probably short pieces, are grouped as one section. Some worked in immediate connection with their own houses; others where they were assigned without any reference to their residence. In verses 4 and 21 the same man does a portion on the extreme north of the city and also another on the south of the Temple. The Tekoites repaired on the north and also on the southeast. The High Priest whose residence was on the south of the Temple began the work of repairing on the northeast at the Sheep Gate, quite possibly to give the work a start. With this exception the work

of the Priests and Levites was confined to the Ophel hill.

The Stairs in verse 15 are the same as those mentioned in xii. 37. The Gate of the Fountain and the Stairs were located not far from each other. The same was true of the stairs and the wall; but the stairs were north of the wall, not south of it. The wall went up the hill, and so did the stairs. Consequently there was no wall between the Gate of the Fountain and the Pool of Siloam running north and south along the foot of the western slope of the Ophel ridge. Moreover, the theory that the Stairs ran from the Temple south along the Ophel ridge to near the King's Garden has nothing in its support. The Stairs led from the Temple Hill to the Lower City, broad, convenient, a public ornament, and an absolute public necessity.

It has been shown that verse 16 is a section by itself and refers to the old wall between the Mahkameh and the Jaffa Gate. Unless so treated this important portion of wall was not repaired.

In verse 15 the work stopped with the Stairs just north of the wall which went up the eastern hill towards the east. At this point verse 17 takes up the work and carries it on to verses 19 and 20, where there is a "turning" or an "angle." Thence it goes to verse 24, where there is another "turning" or "angle," and a "corner." There are three more sections, long or short we do not know, before Ophel is reached. At Ophel there is no "turning" or "corner." Indeed from the lower or western end of the Stairs round by the southeast, east, and north there are only the two "turnings" or "angles" and the one "corner" as already mentioned, until the last section before the Sheep Gate is reached.

In all the sections from the starting point round to the Stairs, including the Pool of Siloam, there are no "goings up," "ascents," "turnings," "angles," or "corners"; these all belong to the eastern hill.

If the Ophel ridge theory of the City of David is cor-

rect, verse 15 must be explained as follows: On the lower part of the western slope of the Ophel ridge the wall ran from north to south. The Gate of the Fountain, this wall, and the wall of the Pool of Siloam, all following in order one after the other, were completed and the workmen were at the King's Garden at the extreme southern end of the Ophel ridge. From this point the wall ran north on the eastern brow of this hill to the Temple area, and beyond that, the same nearly straight line being continued, to the Sheep Gate, where the rebuilding operations began. But verse 19 makes a turning or angle and also a corner, and these three are used as landmarks. But if the wall of Jerusalem ran from the southern end of the Ophel ridge northwards along the eastern brow of the hill these angles and this corner would be impossible. The theory is untenable from whatever point of view it is approached. It would locate the Sepulchres of David, the Pool that was made, and the House of the Mighty on the southern portion of the Ophel ridge, an insignificant area already crowded, if the theory is true, with city and public buildings beyond any parallel in history and indeed beyond belief.

It is evident from this account, verse 15, confirmed by other historical hints, particularly those in Josephus, that the Pool of Siloam had a wall of its own. (See Chapter VII.)

The Valley Gate and the wall between it and the Dung Gate were repaired as one section (verse 13). The mention of "one thousand cubits on the wall" has misled some writers into hastily supposing that this number of cubits indicated the exact distance between the two gates. This is not the case, for the writer did not give the exact distance and did not intend to; he simply said that between these two points there were one thousand cubits of broken wall that was to be repaired as stated. Here as elsewhere not all the wall had been thrown down; some portions remained that did not need repairing.

The Tower of the Furnaces was next north of the Valley Gate, with only one section of wall between them. The words used show that they were not for burning pottery, but were bakers' ovens.

The phrase "palace of the house" (Temple) in ii. 8 is not the same as "throne of the governor" of iii. 7. The word *bireh,* בירה, ii. 8, usually rendered "palace," may mean a large hall or public court belonging to some important public building, in this case the Temple. "Throne" in iii. 7, כסא, refers to the place where public business was done, a kind of modern *serai,* and on that account being well known was used as a landmark.

"After them," verse 27, should be "after him," since it is connected with the end of verse 25.

In such a case as is found in verse 19, the "armory" and the "ascent" to it have no necessary connection with the wall; they were apart from it and were used as landmarks.

The wall of Ophel was not repaired, the reason being that it had not been destroyed.

The fact that in the first half of the chapter one phrase is used to introduce the different workmen and in the last half an entirely different word is used, is to be noticed, but it does not affect our general purpose.

From Antonia round to the Jaffa Gate (excluding both), sixteen sections were repaired, the list including two gates, the Fish and the Old. The conclusion is justified that these sections were of considerable length. From the Antonia to the Fish Gate (excluding both) there were two sections of wall. Thence to the Old Gate (including the Fish Gate, but excluding the Old Gate) there were five sections; thence to the Broad Wall (including the Old Gate, but excluding the Broad Wall) there were four sections; thence to the Tower of the Furnaces (excluding the Broad Wall, but including the Tower of the Furnaces) there were four sections, and thence to the Valley Gate (excluding the Tower of the Furnaces and the Valley Gate) there was

one section. Thus between the Broad Wall and the Old Gate (excluding the Old Gate) there were three sections of wall. But the Gate of Ephraim was just east of the Broad Wall. Placing the Old Gate somewhere near the Damascus Gate, the Gate of Ephraim would not be very far to the west, at a point where for other reasons it has been shown that it must be located to justify its claim of being for centuries the chief gate on the north of the city.

Flight of Zedekiah B.C. 576

This event is narrated in nearly the same language in three different places. There is described the city wall at a particular point, the gate in the same, the relation of the gate to the King's Garden, and the course of the fugitive king after passing the garden. "By the gate between the two walls they went out of the city by night towards the King's Garden" (Jer. xxxix. 4). "They went out of the city by night by way of the gate between the two walls, which is above the King's Garden" (Jer. lii. 7, and 2 Kings xxv. 4 is like this). The last clause, "went towards the plain," is the same in each of the three passages. The "plain" is the Arabah, the Jordan valley. For "by way of" and "towards" one word is used, the common word *derek*. In each case the word for wall or walls is dual. The wall was in the shape of an ox-bow, convex towards the city, that is, the north. At the bend a gate led in and out of the city. Going out through this gate they afterwards came to the King's Garden, passing which they went on towards, *derek*, the Jordan valley. The word translated "by" in the phrase "by the King's Garden" in two of these passages (2 Kings xxv. 4 and Jer. lii. 7) means "above," for the garden was down the valley below the Pool of Siloam and had no connection with the city. Josephus describes the place (the valley between the double wall) as *kateras pharaggos*, a ravine with abrupt sides. This was true, but on each side there was a wall, ox-bow shape, making the double wall as described.

For the sake of greater definiteness it may be said that on the west side of this ravine, the side which faces the east, the rock is nearly vertical, and on the top or crest there may have been a slight wall. What the precise condition of things was is not known, but it is certain that the rock alone, or the rock with its slight wall, was of such a character that it, with the wall on the east side of the ravine (there had at that time been no lifting up of the southwest corner of the present Temple area), could best be described by the dual of the Hebrew word for wall. This dual wall, convex towards the north, pointed towards the causeway which led from the East to the West Hill, and to the massive flight of stairs which led from the East Hill down into the valley (now the Tyropean) to the City of David, the Acra of Maccabean times—the Lower City of Josephus.

It is to be remembered that on the south of Jerusalem Nehemiah mentions two gates, Dung and Fountain. These are not mentioned before him. On the other hand, he does not mention the Gate between the two walls, notwithstanding the many details which he gives of this part of the city. Nearly one hundred and fifty years before his time the city had been captured, the walls and buildings destroyed, and King Zedekiah led away captive. In this long interval many things had been forgotten and many changes had taken place. It is not affirmed that the Gate between the two walls and the Fountain Gate were identical; but it is reasonable if not certain that they were in the same general locality. In the rebuilding and reconstruction of B.C. 446 the Fountain Gate was placed a little farther south than the Gate between the two walls had been.

It seems hardly necessary to add that these dual walls, the two sides of the ox-bow, did not continue south for any considerable distance; one (to a person looking south) soon went up over the eastern hill, and the other went sharply round to the right along the brow of the western hill.

CHAPTER XLI

ROCK AND QUARRIES ABOUT JERUSALEM

Mutual Influence of Judea, Phœnicia, and Egypt upon Each Other—Monolithic Work—David, Solomon, and Hiram—Testimony of the Bible and Josephus—Building Periods Classified—Decay of Stones—Value of Stones—Ancient Ruins Quarries for Later Builders—Hebrew Stones in Present Wall —Stone-work Classified

Stone-work. Rock and ancient quarries

In a granite quarry stones can be cut of any size that may be required, including length, breadth, and thickness. In Palestine the rock is limestone, and it almost never exists in solid masses like the granite of New England. In travelling about the country one cannot fail to notice in general that the rock, where it is exposed, is divided into layers of different thicknesses, and not infrequently it is divided again by vertical seams so perfectly that it would be easy to take the individual sections for artificial blocks. In the vicinity of Jerusalem, if we include a distance of ten miles on the north of the city, there are places where the rock is firm, whence we suppose that columns and massive blocks were taken. Indeed, the largest stones mentioned by Josephus could have been supplied from either of two of these quarries.

The quality of the rock about Jerusalem varies greatly. Some rock is mere waste wholly unsuitable for building purposes. Some can be used for interior but not for exterior walls, and some carries seams of soft reddish material which decays after some years of exposure. There are two varieties of the hard rock which are considered most durable for building walls and houses. For the many varieties of stone that exist the people of the country have special names, of which a few may be mentioned. There is a kind of conglom-

erate, not firm and not heavy, which is used in constructing the arched roofs of native houses; it is called *nahreh*. A very common stone is called *kakouli*. It is soft, easily cut, extremely white, and is used for interiors, although sometimes parts of external house-walls are built of it. A degree beyond this in hardness is the kind called *meleki*. Although white it is not so white as the *kakouli;* and this carries the reddish seams just mentioned. When dressed the surface is not perfectly smooth, but usually has a granulated or sandy appearance. It may be necessary to state that the character of both the *kakouli* and the *meleki* varies considerably as to hardness. The hard varieties of stone come under the name of *misseh*. There are several shades of color, reddish, whitish, greenish, and yellowish. The green shade is rare. One variety, called *misseh Jehudeh*, is very hard, contains flint, and fine flint seams are noticeable. A good deal of it is used, but it is not a favorite stone with stonemasons. The varieties called *misseh helu* (white) and *misseh akmar* (red) are popular and most used for building. They are firm, durable, and take a good polish.

To the east of the city the rock is everywhere chalky and soft, and to the south there is no rock that would yield massive blocks. Southwest of Jerusalem, at no great distance, there are beds of limestone which is much used for building modern houses. The stone is hard and prettily marked with red, yellow, pink, and other colors, but it is full of fine seams which render it unsuitable for large work. The stone takes a good polish, some specimens being really beautiful on account of the variegated colors, but the seams which run in every direction always mar the surface. To the northwest of the city, at Neby Samwil, there is one of the finest beds of firm rock in this region; to the north Shafat yields a limited amount of fairly good marble; further north at Rama there is an old quarry of good stone; and still further north, at Bireh, ten miles distant, there is an

ANCIENT QUARRY OF FIRM ROCK AT RAMA, NORTH OF JERUSALEM

In later times used for cutting small stones, as appears in the right of the illustration.

ANCIENT QUARRY NEAR BRITISH OPHTHALMIC HOSPITAL

At the right hand are seen cuttings, six or seven feet in height, which were made by workmen to release blocks of stone vertically.

ancient quarry where the rock is of a specially firm and excellent character. This is remarkable as having neither vertical nor horizontal seams.

Quarries for stone were opened in all sorts of places. It seldom occurred that they were on flat land, although in exceptional cases this was true. Mention is not now made of those which furnish building stone for modern houses, but of the ancient quarries whence were obtained the great stones for ancient structures.

In some sections where we know that in early times quarries for massive stones existed, the country is so broken as to make us wonder how human skill could overcome the obstacles and remove thence the blocks that had been prepared. Every trace of road, embankment, or causeway has disappeared. Those who live in the country cease to wonder at this, for they know the terribly destructive power of the winter rains. Floods and torrents wash everything away. And these repeated year after year for many centuries have obliterated every indication of the ancient means which may have been used for the purpose required.

The region of the Tombs of the Kings had some firm rock, otherwise these famous monuments would not have lasted till the present day. This rock, however, is not of the best quality, and that in which the Tombs of Eudocia were excavated, now a part of the Dominican grounds north of the Damascus Gate, is of poor quality, and consequently these tombs have not been very well preserved.

The hill in which are found the so-called Tombs of the Judges is of fairly good stone, some of it of the best, and there is evidence that this hill had been used as a quarry for massive blocks at some period previous to the excavation of the tombs. To remove blocks from this quarry would, on account of the contour of the ground, have been comparatively easy. Some large stones were taken from the hill between the Ophthalmic Hospital and the Railway Station; but the decayed and imperfect rock is

so mingled with the firm rock as to render this quarry unsatisfactory, and evidently it was not extensively used.

In some early period an attempt was made to get large stone from the hill northwest of the city, now included in the Russian grounds, and a sample of ancient work still remains in the shape of an immense monolithic column 40 feet long and 5 feet in diameter, which was partly shaped and left attached to its bed rock. It was uncovered soon after A.D. 1860, and remains as the ancient workmen left it. The seams in the column rendered it useless for the purpose intended, and this illustrates the uncertain and imperfect character of much of the rock about Jerusalem.

In consequence of the falling of some buildings at Neby Samwil in 1900 or a little later, and the repairs thereby necessitated, considerable earth had to be removed, with the result that there was uncovered a large ancient quarry of a most interesting character. This hill has a rounded top and the slope to the west where this quarry exists is not great. As the earth was removed from the native rock it was found that at intervals trenches had been made by the workmen, which are 3 to 4 feet wide and 3 to 5 feet deep. These trenches meet another trench at right angles, so that the blocks were clear and are still clear on three sides. The fourth side is covered. The intervals between these trenches, which would be the length of the stone, or possibly in some instances the width, were 12, 15, and 20 feet. The larger the block the wider the trench about it would need to be. The workmen must not only cut down but after that they must have room to cut under the stone, so as to release it from its bed, unless they reached a horizontal seam. They must have room for their mechanical appliances for raising the block to the surface. The quarry seems to have been abandoned suddenly. It certainly is in a remarkable state of preserva-

SECTION OF AN ANCIENT QUARRY, EAST OF NEBY SAMWIL

The south face shows right angle. Description in text.

ANCIENT QUARRY AT BIREH

Ten miles north of Jerusalem. Description in the text.

tion. Digging and building operations near it have now covered it entirely.

On the east side of this village there exists another ancient quarry of which a large part is exposed. The rock is firm and of the best quality and no doubt many massive blocks were worked out here; but the idea of removing them from this point to Jerusalem is appalling. However, the people who required such stones could devise means of moving them from one place to another. At one point in the south face there is in the quarry a right angle of which the sides extend 30 feet in one direction and 10 feet in the other. The layers are divided horizontally by seams, as is common in many quarries, but not in that of Bireh, where the rock is perfectly solid, and are 3 feet, 4 feet 6 inches, and 5 feet 6 inches in thickness respectively. On the west face the rock layers are 3 feet, and 4 feet 6 inches thick; the horizontal dividing lines are exactly parallel, and the length of the rock is continuous for 60 feet where there is a vertical seam; thence continuous again in the same line for upwards of 50 feet.

The famous quarry near Bireh was on the slope of a hill where men could readily work and the blocks could easily be removed. At Neby Samwil the large dimension of the blocks was horizontal; while at Bireh it was vertical, hence the work here would be far less difficult. The workmen could cut down vertically till a block was secured of the proper thickness and length, and slip it from its bed on to the level ground in front of it. Three sections of this quarry are each 50 feet in length and one section is 30 feet; the vertical face is from 15 to 20 feet high. The rock is firm and the largest blocks and columns could have been supplied from it. Like that at Neby Samwil this quarry was never subsequently used for obtaining small stones in later times.

There is a tradition, constantly repeated in Jerusalem, that the great stones in the Temple were taken from the

so-called Solomon's Quarries near the Damascus Gate; but this is pure fiction. A comparison of the stones themselves with the rock in these caverns shows that such a thing is impossible. The rock in the quarries is partly *kakouli,* but chiefly *meleki;* while all the original large stones in the wall of the Temple area are some variety of *misseh.*

Influence of Egyptians, Hebrews, and Phœnicians upon each other. Monolithic work

Jerusalem as we see it to-day is one of the most important places in the East for the study of Stone-work. Although the present walls are only three hundred and fifty years old, the stones in their composite patchwork represent nearly every era for the past thirty centuries. As in an art gallery persons who are masters of painting can assign every picture to the period to which it belongs, so we believe that the different historical periods represented by the stones in these old foundations, walls, and castles can be pointed out in a fairly satisfactory manner. It is asserting what is not true to say that no classification is possible.

Stone-cutting in Palestine dates from the earliest period of which we have any knowledge. Indeed, we feel justified in saying that it can be traced far back into prehistoric times. In studying this subject the early political conditions of Palestine are first to be considered. The mutual relations between this country and its nearest neighbors, Phœnicia and Egypt, are interesting and important. The Egyptians dominated Palestine for several centuries previous to the Israelitish occupation, and after the establishment of the Jewish kingdom from the time of Solomon on through the reigns of many of his successors, the Nile dwellers, by marriages, by friendly, political, and commercial intercourse, and in still other ways, impressed themselves upon the national life of the Jews. The same may be said of the Phœnicians. This fact is so well known that it is not thought necessary to elaborate it here in detail. It is not as-

serted that this mutual influence can be detected and differentiated in all its particulars, but what concerns us is chiefly this, that in the case of the Hebrews the powerful influence exerted upon them from two directions is in nothing more marked than in the matter of stone-work. A single illustration of Egyptian influence is that of the famous palace now in ruins at Arak el Emir, east of the Jordan. It dates from 200 B.C. The long sojourn in Egypt of its builder, Hyrcanus, and his consequent familiarity with its great temples and other renowned structures, added to his own national ideas of stone-work as we shall see later, alone account for these wonderful blocks. Two measurements will illustrate what is meant; one stone is 17 feet 4 inches long, 8 feet wide, and 2 feet 8 inches thick. Another is 25 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 2 feet 3 inches thick. Stones very long and wide and comparatively thin are characteristic of Egyptian work. These are some of the most marked examples of Egyptian influence that are to be found in Palestine.

In comparing the stone-work of the Egyptians and that of the Hebrews the climate of Egypt must be considered, which is quite different from that of Palestine; in Egypt stones endure forever, in Palestine they decay. Secondly, the kind of stone is an important element. In Palestine the rock is all limestone, with varying grades of hardness and consequent utility; in Egypt the bulk of the building material is sandstone, which is like clay in the hands of the artist, and when once carved preserves in beauty for all time the thought of the sculptor.

The Egyptians and Hebrews, notwithstanding the relations existing between them, remained two distinct races, while the relations between the Hebrews and Phœnicians were so many and so close as to make them practically one people. The same forests of cedar furnished timber for Tyre and for Jerusalem, and the great stones for the temples of both came from the same limestone hills. When history opens on these shores we see

Phœnician and Hebrew craftsmen working harmoniously together in the same forest, in the same quarries, laying the same massive walls and rearing the same public edifices. Hiram and Solomon, with their respective peoples, had a single purpose. There were not two sets of national ideas to be considered, nor two different or differing styles to be worked out; they were controlled by one idea, they had one style, and aimed at one result. Consequently in the early periods, we may say in every period, we do not find a Phœnician style and a Hebrew style; the work of these neighbors was practically identical.

As Egypt is full of examples of very early stone-work that have survived to the present time, and as many examples of early Phœnician work can still be pointed out, it is perfectly reasonable to assume that we have still existing in the walls of Jerusalem samples of the earliest Hebrew work. This is all the more plausible since it seems to be confirmed by written historical testimony. From beginning to end both the Egyptians and the Phœnicians preserved their national character and ideas, and we believe it is only just to allow to the Hebrews the same.

Among these three peoples there was a taste, or it might be described as a passion, for monolithic work, columns, statues, and blocks of stone in Egypt, columns and blocks of stone in Palestine and Phœnicia. In the two latter countries this need not be thought of as originating with any king whose name we know, as for instance Hiram, for it existed among the prehistoric inhabitants of this part of the East, who erected "high places" at suitable points all over Palestine, a good example of which has been brought to light at Gezer. This taste for massive work now mentioned remained a peculiarity of building in the country bordering the east shore of the Mediterranean down to very late times. Even the Romans who conquered this country allowed the native workmen free scope in cut-

ting stones for any particular structure. As the Romans did not interfere to make any decided change in stone-work either in Egypt or Phœnicia, neither did they in Palestine until after the time of Hadrian.

Hebrews and Phœnicians. The work of Solomon

There are valuable historical details illustrating the intimate connection of David and Solomon with Hiram, king of Tyre. Soon after David established himself in Jerusalem steps were taken to erect for him a royal house, and for this purpose his friend Hiram sent to him "cedar trees or timber, carpenters, and cutters of wall-stone" (2 Sam. v. 11). In 1 Chron. xiv. 1 it is said that Hiram sent to David "timber, carpenters, and masons." The word "masons" is to be rendered stone-cutters, and the idea conveyed in both passages is of persons skilled in preparing stones for buildings and for the walls of a city.

The workmen of these two neighboring kings labored together harmoniously, as did those of Hiram and Solomon somewhat later, and they were mutually helpful (1 Kings v. 18; 2 Chron. ii. 8). The building operations of Solomon assumed gigantic proportions. It is said that Solomon did not compel his own people to engage in this hard manual labor; they constituted the army and filled all the royal or higher positions in the kingdom. It was the people of the land, those that remained after the conquest, that were made to serve practically as slaves.

In 2 Chron. ii. 17 the number of this class is given as 153,600. Solomon made a levy of 30,000 men divided into three sections; each section of 10,000 men worked one month and were at home two months (1 Kings v. 13). There were 70,000 men who were "burden bearers," and 80,000 who "worked in the mountains" (1 Kings v. 15; 2 Chron. ii. 2), and there were also 3,600 who were overseers. The workmen prepared both timber and stones.

By the king's order great stones were quarried and

properly dressed for the foundations. These are described as "great stones, costly stones, hewed stones." It was certainly true that the cost of such massive blocks was enormous, still the word "costly" seems out of place, as the matter of expense was not considered; the word heavy can just as well be used, thus allowing the mind to rest on the idea of size. Hebrews and Phœnicians worked side by side in the quarrying, the transportation and dressing, and in the placing of these gigantic blocks. Above the foundations were "heavy stones squared by measure" (1 Kings vii. 11). Verse 9 of this chapter is noticeable as giving a concise description of the stones used and the wall that was built:— "Heavy stones squared by measure, sawed with saws both inside and outside, from the foundation to the top." The mention of "saws," and of the "stones being cut on the inside and outside," introduces two interesting facts.

First—The practice of using saws for cutting stones is of great antiquity, and there is no reason why the words "sawed with saws" should not be taken as they are generally understood. Blocks of stone might be dressed and finished in the quarry, but in that case it would not be easy to insure the smooth surfaces against defacement in the process of transportation. It would be the practical way to bring them in the rough to the place where they were to be used and there trimmed with saws, after which they could receive whatever polish it was desired to give them. Mention is made of stones that were prepared in the quarry ready for use, and this would include all stones designed for exterior walls and for all ordinary purposes (1 Kings vi. 7).

The second point is this, and although it is not stated in words it is certainly implied, namely, that there were stones designed for some special service where a perfectly smooth face was essential. If this needs justification we find it in the construction of the wall of the Inner Temple. It is not reasonable to suppose that

this was made of rough stones. The greatest care and the highest skill at command would be used to make these walls attractive. This enclosure was the most sacred spot known to the Hebrews, and here their holiest service was offered. There would be a national pride in having both the inside and outside of its walls polished and made attractive to the eye. We know for certain that these walls were of great strength, hardly less strong than the exterior walls of the Temple area. Even by the aid of battering rams it was difficult for the Romans to reduce them. If the walls which faced the Romans were not identical with those in the early Temple, their strength illustrates and confirms what is told us of the strength of the former. In the present wall of the city there are a few large stones whose surface is beautifully polished. These are out of place; they were never designed for an exterior wall; but both their size and character make us believe that they belonged to the wall of the Inner Temple.

The records of the building period, found in different parts of Second Samuel, First and Second Kings, and in Chronicles, give us a number of valuable details. Hiram was a great friend of David and Solomon; Phœnicians and Hebrews are several times referred to; workmen of different classes are mentioned; among these masons and stone-dressers or cutters of wall stones are prominent; we have stones for foundations and stones for walls, great stones, costly or heavy stones, hewn stones, or stones squared by measure, and a few other interesting items; but the size of the stones is only once stated in a special instance, as "stones of eight cubits and stones of ten cubits" (1 Kings vii. 10). This item is in connection with the Palace of Solomon.

A practical question arises in connection with the great number of laborers employed by Hiram and Solomon as to how this army was fed, and we find that it was no small matter; it was thought of and provided for. "Solomon gave Hiram enormous quantities of sup-

plies, including wheat, barley, oil, and wine" (1 Kings v. 11; 2 Chron. ii. 10).

We find Amos, not quite 800 years before Christ, speaking of houses that were built of heavy, squared, and hewn stones (v. 11). And Ezra, 500-450 B.C., speaks of the house of God as built of "great hewn stones," that the foundations were strongly laid, and that "great hewn stones" were in the wall (v. 8; vi. 3, 4).

In 1 Kings vi. 6 are mentioned rests or ledges, perhaps what we call rebatements, for the ends of beams, so that they should not enter the wall itself. This may have no connection with the following fact, which, however, may be mentioned. In many of the large old stones still existing there are square holes in the sides evidently designed for some special purpose, where possibly the ends of beams could have rested. Another possibility is that they were for use in moving the blocks. The smallest blocks weighing ten tons and the larger ones from twenty to sixty tons each would, it is only natural to think, be very difficult to handle in a country like that about Jerusalem. If blocks of wood were inserted in these holes on each side of the stone and firmly bound with ropes or chains, the work of transportation or of moving them might thus have been greatly facilitated. Not all the stones have these holes, and as to their object what is now said is only a suggestion.

Testimony of Josephus

In passing from the Bible to Josephus we find, what it was perfectly natural to expect, a great deal said about building operations in which the dimensions not only of the walls and public structures are given but the size of the stones as well.

When Herod the Great resolved to enlarge the Temple area, to reconstruct its supporting wall and to rebuild the Temple, he "got ready a thousand wagons that were to bring the stones for the building." "He selected 10,000 of the most skilful workmen" to quarry

and dress the stones. He chose also 1,000 priests, who received special instruction in the art of stone-cutting that they might act as overseers of the work. But when his plan was made known to the public, opposition at once arose, since it was thought that he might interfere with the work of Solomon, which, because of its antiquity and magnificence, was a matter of pride to the nation. This excitement was, however, allayed by pledges which Herod found it necessary to make, after which the work went on as he had proposed. He did not destroy the work of Solomon, and there is no evidence that he desired to do so, but he utilized and supplemented it in his grand work of reconstruction (*Antiq.*, XV. xi. 2, 3).

The size of some of the stones used in the Temple is given as 25 cubits long, 8 cubits high, and 12 cubits wide. The supporting wall of the Temple area, some of which was the work of Solomon, on the top of which were the "cloisters" or porticoes, is spoken of as marvellous because of its height and massive character.

The vastness of Herod's undertaking receives illustration from events which belong to the time of Agrippa II. The work of completing the Temple and its courts, and of making certain repairs which had become necessary, required the outlay of vast sums of money and the employment of thousands of workmen, of whom 18,000 were discharged at one time (*Antiq.*, XX. ix. 7). Considerable work was required on the east side, which was skirted by a deep valley, that is, the Kedron, and it was at or near this part of the wall that the work of Solomon existed. The stones are spoken of as being 20 cubits long and 6 cubits high.

In his description of the Temple and Jerusalem (V. iv. 1-4; v. 1-8), Josephus has frequent occasion to give dimensions of buildings and masonry, which he always does in cubits. To Biblical archæologists this word has never ceased to be a sort of puzzle, but for our present

purpose the commonly accepted length of 18 inches will suffice.

Some of the stones of which the Temple was constructed were 45 cubits long, 5 cubits high, and 6 cubits wide (V. v. 6). In the supporting wall of the Temple there were stones 40 cubits long. In the three towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, the stones employed were 20 cubits long, 10 cubits wide, and 5 cubits high (V. iv. 4). In Agrippa's wall some of the stones were 20 cubits long and 10 cubits wide (V. iv. 2). These stones were "in no respect inferior to those in the Temple," showing that the massiveness and beauty of the dressing of the stones in the Temple were matters of pride.

These dimensions given by Josephus seem large, and on this account some scholars have been inclined to reject them as incorrect. They reason thus:—"The dimensions are too large for belief, therefore they cannot be true measurements."

This matter may be examined for a moment, not for the sake of discussion but for its intrinsic interest. No two nations in history were more alike in their stonework than the Phœnicians and the Hebrews. The style of one was identical with that of the other. At Baalbek in one wall there are nine stones each 30 feet long and 13 feet high. In another part of the wall there are three stones 62, 63, and 64 feet long respectively, and each is 13 feet high. Besides, there is one stone in a neighboring quarry, shaped and cut but not released from its bed rock, which is 71 feet long, 14 feet high, and 13 feet wide. The beholder is astonished at the size of these gigantic blocks, still he *is certain that they exist.* The reader is astonished at the dimensions given by Josephus of some of the stones used in building the Temple and its supporting wall and—*denies their existence.* The wisdom or folly of excavating and placing in position such wonderful stones does not affect the question, which is that the dimensions given by Josephus are no

more surprising than are the stones which actually exist at Baalbek. What was true of the Phœnicians might be true of the Hebrews, and we are certain that had such stones as Josephus describes been wanted they could have been supplied from the quarries at Neby Samwil, from those at Bireh, or from those at the Tombs of the Judges. Herod had the money, the men, and the means to cut, remove, and place such stones had it pleased his ambition to do so. The same is true of Solomon.

It will be noticed that in Josephus' figures the height of the stones varies from 3 to 8 cubits, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8 being mentioned, and this can be accounted for in part at least by the different thicknesses of the natural layers of rock in the quarries, as for example the eastern quarry at Neby Samwil, and others elsewhere. The rock in the quarry at Bireh has no horizontal seams.

It is not intended to discuss the question whether the statements of Josephus are correct or not. What is essential and very important may be stated as follows:— We have, so far as the stones in the old wall of Jerusalem are or have been exposed, many stones of gigantic size; and the presence of such massive stones is a fact which was familiar to the Jews of Herod's time and had been familiar to the Jewish people from the time of David and Solomon.

Jewish style from Solomon to Herod

In the one thousand years from David to Christ certain time marks can be pointed out which are important in connection with the building operations of the Hebrew people. The first is the period of David and Solomon; the second that of Uzziah and his son Jotham, about 750 B.C.; the third that of Hezekiah and Manasseh, 650 B.C.; the fourth that of Nehemiah, 436 B.C.; the fifth that of the Maccabees, 168 B.C.; and the sixth that of Herod the Great. The dates given are approximate and are to serve as a general guide only.

Politically the kingdom lasted about four centuries

and a quarter from David to the Captivity, 586 B.C. From this date to the birth of Christ, usually called the Post-Exilic Period, was one long sad night of national depression. The Jews were without special influence as a people. They had little wealth and no position which would cause the nations around to regard them as rivals. Their insignificance was the safeguard of many features of their national life. After the death of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C., Greek and Egyptian armies alternately overran the country and Greek and Egyptian rulers alternately dominated and oppressed the people. The Jews had little or no opportunity, even if they had had the desire, for development or change. Their lot was a hard one, a constant struggle for existence. This long period of gloom was broken by two epoch-making events, namely, the work of Nehemiah and his compatriots, B.C. 436, and the rise of the Maccabees in 168 B.C.

It is frequently asserted that during the period between the death of Alexander the Great, B.C. 323, and the birth of Christ, Greek influence predominated in Palestine. But there is little evidence in support of this. There were a few cities inhabited by Greeks, as we know was the case in Christ's time; but to say that Greek influence was general is a mistake. During this period the country was dominated as frequently and as long by the Egyptians as it was by the Greeks, and still we do not hear of the predominance of Egyptian influence.

The work of the Maccabees shows a purely Jewish character and style. The same is true of the makers of the Second Wall, which, although it may have been built earlier than the time of Hezekiah and Manasseh, was, we believe, repaired and completed by those two kings. We go back to David and Solomon, to whom belongs some of the oldest stone-work found in connection with the Temple. At that period Hebrews and Phœnicians produced similar work, and as many examples of Phœni-

cian work still exist we know what the work of the Hebrews was like.

We come down finally to the last period mentioned, that of Herod the Great. It is a fair judgment of his work to say that in building he followed out national ideas, the latest example being that of the Maccabees hardly more than one hundred years behind him. Herod had a passion for massive blocks. The stones were prepared sometimes with and sometimes without the bevel or marginal draft. There are some who deny what is claimed as the character of Maccabean work, also that of the builders of the Second Wall, and even that of Solomon. The alternative is clear; these persons must assert that Herod disregarded national ideas which both loyalty and policy would have inclined him to adhere to and develop; that he ignored the example of the earliest kings whom the nation honored, David and Solomon; and that he invented an entirely new style of his own. If these points should be admitted there would remain unaccounted for the indisputable fact that the stone-work of Herod is precisely similar to the early examples of Phœnician work. We cannot believe that these suppositions relative to Herod the Great have any justification whatsoever.

Building period A.D. 1 to A.D. 1542

There is no evidence that the Romans built anything important in Palestine before the time of Hadrian, A.D. 136. They entered the country under Pompey in 63 B.C., and from that date onward till Hadrian whatever influence they exerted was chiefly political. Certainly they did not check or direct in any way the building operations of Herod the Great, and quite as certainly before Hadrian they had nothing to do with the walls and public structures of Jerusalem. In the first century of our era, therefore, and for nearly half of the second, Jewish influence in Jerusalem was largely in the ascendant. It was a Jewish population that occupied the city. The Christian element was small, the little church was com-

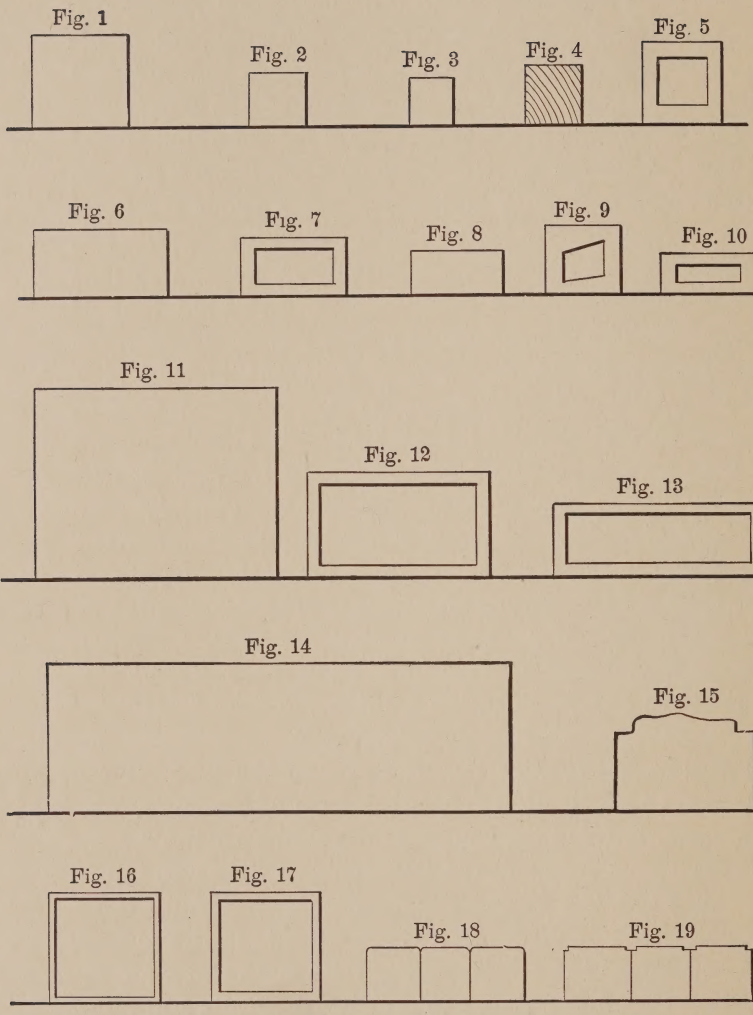


PLATE I.—VARIETIES OF STONE-WORK

posed of converts from Judaism, and its overseers or "bishops" were Jews. Buildings, walls, pottery, nearly everything belonging to this period would be Jewish, since Rome did not, in ordinary affairs, except perhaps in the coining of gold and silver money, force rules upon a conquered people. In the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the Jews were not all exterminated nor were they all driven from the country. Palestine was a conquered province and its inhabitants continued to cultivate the soil, and they even rebuilt the walls of its chief city. These conditions are more than justified by the fact of the powerful resistance which Jerusalem was able to offer to the armies of Hadrian and by the terrible price which Rome had to pay for this second conquest of the country. In spite of disasters it seems certain that Jewish influences controlled the life and thought of Palestine for many generations subsequent to the birth of Christ. Indeed it was only after Hadrian, A.D. 136, had banished the Jews that Hebrew influence ceased and Christian-Roman influence became dominant. From Titus to Hadrian all stone-work would therefore be Jewish in style and character, although we have no right to expect to find in this period the massive blocks which were conspicuous in the periods of the nation's greatest prosperity.

With the advent of Hadrian there came in a marked change in the stone-work of Jerusalem. The country was conquered and thoroughly subdued. The Jews were banished, it was supposed never to return. For two centuries after A.D. 136 Jerusalem was practically without Jewish inhabitants. The Christian Church was made up entirely of Gentile Christians, exactly the opposite of the conditions existing previous to this date. All influences, political and social, which affected seriously the life of the people were Christian-Roman. Stones of the style and character of Fig. 6, Plate I., were not known in Jerusalem previous to Hadrian. They were foreign to the ideas which had prevailed in Palestine previously.

But from that date forward they are extremely common both in Jerusalem and elsewhere. In some ruins they are the universal type. The wealthy Roman cities, the Roman colonies, the Christian and Roman work east of the Jordan, Beit Jibrin, the Muristan, and many other places bear witness to the truth of what is now said. Not all stones used in building were of this character—no such absurd statement is made; but this style which came in with Hadrian lasted through the Christian-Roman period A.D. 136 to A.D. 636, on through the Christian-Arab period A.D. 636 to A.D. 1,099, and also through the Crusading period, evidences of which are abundant throughout Palestine.

The period from A.D. 136 to A.D. 614 was, for Palestine, one of comparative prosperity. It embraced the era and the buildings of Constantine, which will be mentioned later. It was the era, to say nothing of relics, of the "invention" of holy places, till the land was covered with them. This meant the introduction and circulation of a large amount of money. During this period pilgrims, very many of them persons of rank and high position, flocked to Jerusalem by hundreds and almost by multitudes. It was the era when Roman colonies were planted throughout Palestine, which, with other Roman towns, became prosperous, some of them becoming cities of wealth and luxury. Commerce with Europe was established by which the revenue of the country was increased. Churches, some of them ambitious and costly structures, dotted the country everywhere. When, therefore, the Persian and Jewish storm of A.D. 614 burst in fury over the land the invaders found prosperity everywhere; and Jerusalem, with its wealthy churches, its rich religious establishments and dwellings of luxury, was an invaluable prize for the horde of plunderers that robbed and slaughtered without mercy.

When the terrible calamity of A.D. 614 overtook Jerusalem it seems to have been chiefly churches, religious

establishments, and the residences of the wealthy that were destroyed, while the walls themselves did not suffer greatly. The wealth of the country at this time is shown by the fact that the inhabitants had the power to recuperate quickly, for in A.D. 628 Jerusalem was again in the hands of the Christians. But their supremacy was to be of short duration; the Arab conquest of A.D. 636 followed soon after, which ended the Christian-Roman rule.

Standing at this point of history and looking back to the time of Hadrian, or forward to the time when the Christians as Crusaders again possessed Jerusalem, the distance either way represents a greater number of years than the entire duration of the Hebrew kingdom from David to the Captivity in B.C. 586.

It was long after the Crusaders had established themselves in Jerusalem that it became necessary to undertake the rebuilding of the walls. This was in A.D. 1178. The work seems to have been one of magnitude, involving great expense and a great deal of time; indeed, it was not completed for fourteen years and not then by the Crusaders themselves. Meantime the control of the city passed into the hands of the Arabs under Saladin, who, after gaining possession of it, labored many months in perfecting the work of strengthening the fortifications which had been begun by the Christians. This period of building, A.D. 1178 to A.D. 1192, may be reckoned as one.

The next decided change that the walls underwent was in A.D. 1219, when they were demolished by the Arabs. Twenty years later, A.D. 1239, they were rebuilt by the Christians. The next year they were again demolished by the Arabs, and three years later, A.D. 1243, the Christians again rebuilt them. Thus in twenty-four years, not a long period surely, the walls of Jerusalem were twice thrown down, both times by the Arabs,

and twice rebuilt, both times by the Christians. This period of a quarter of a century we may call the third building period, that of the Christians and Saladin we call the second, and that of Hadrian the first. Seldom have the materials of a city's walls had such opportunities of being mixed up as have those of Jerusalem.

We have mentioned that the Christians in A.D. 1178 began to fortify Jerusalem upon a vast scale, but some time later, as an attack was expected, they had to hurry forward their work in order to be ready for the enemy. The city made a good resistance, showing that the walls were strong. Saladin likewise, when the city had come into his hands, made very strenuous efforts to complete the fortifications in a substantial manner. He himself took personal oversight of the workmen; but after a time, as in the case of the Christians before him, he expected an attack and had to hasten his work. These facts show that while both the Christians and Saladin planned to do thorough work upon the walls they ended by doing hasty work. Under such circumstances stones cannot be selected, dressed, and laid with any amount of care, hence the results would not be likely to be of the most durable character. There is little doubt that the rebuilding of A.D. 1239 and that of A.D. 1243 were both hurriedly done for immediate defence, and this haste must have been apparent in the wall constructed.

The two centuries and upwards that elapsed between A.D. 1244 and A.D. 1517, when Palestine came permanently under Ottoman rule, was a period of obscurity of which little is known. Jerusalem underwent during this time no special change; but this remark is designed to apply chiefly to the stone-work of buildings and walls. Jerusalem's new rulers found it necessary to rebuild its walls, and this was done under the direction of Suleiman the Magnificent in A.D. 1542. This building period we call the fourth.

Byzantine work

Under this title we class a certain style of stone-work which is characteristic of the era of Constantine. Two hundred years after Hadrian,—say, so far as Jerusalem is concerned, A.D. 330 and later,—when Christian influence had become powerful and Pagan influence had weakened somewhat, when Christians were rejoicing in what they regarded as great political conquests, including the alleged conversion of an emperor, there was introduced a style of stone-work which is represented by Fig. 1, Plate I. This style of cutting stone was more expensive than some others, and possibly for this reason it was not destined to become popular or universal.

These stones may be described as square; that is the first impression made upon one who sees them. They are noticeable also for their peculiar size and smooth faces. They are found in connection with the ruins east of the Holy Sepulchre, in the bazaars to the north, in a blind alley running north and south to the east of these ruins, in some ruins that formerly existed on Mount Zion, and in the city wall east of Herod's Gate. A very few examples exist here and there in the modern walls. All the evidence we have shows that most of the stones of the Byzantine period have been broken up, since this could be done with little labor in comparison with the heavy task of breaking up the great blocks of Hebrew origin. These Byzantine stones must not be taken, (1) for stones that were originally Hebrew and were cut over by the Crusaders, nor (2) for very much larger Hebrew stones which were squared and without a marginal draft, a good many examples of which have been preserved.

These stones are too uniform in size to have been cut over from Hebrew stones. Moreover, the stones are almost without exception of a different quality from that employed by the Hebrews. There are very few Hebrew stones of exactly this shape; they are longer, and to have made them square would have involved too great an expense. The chief reason for calling them

Byzantine and assigning them to the era of Constantine is the fact that they exist in such numbers in connection with Constantine's work at and near the Holy Sepulchre. Those in the bazaars at the beginning of Khan es Zeit are now covered with shops and other buildings, so that they can no longer be seen. But thirty or forty years ago they were exposed in large numbers and were a marked feature of that region.

Jewish bevel or marginal draft

The statement has frequently been made that "stones with the bevel or marginal draft are not peculiar to the Hebrews, since this feature existed in other periods, and in countries outside of Palestine." This being boldly asserted has, without consideration, been accepted as final, with the conclusion that the bevel is no criterion in the work of classification.

A reply to this assumption may be made as follows:— The Jews had human faces; but the human face was not peculiar to the Hebrews, since it existed in other periods and in every country on the globe. This is parallel to the statement about the bevel, but it is not final, nor is it all that should be said. When we begin to inquire into particulars we discover that the Jewish type of face was peculiar to that nation. Precisely the same is true of the Jewish bevel. Stones found in other parts of the East, in Italy and probably in other countries of Europe, have the bevel; so also Crusading stones, Arab stones, and even stones that are cut to-day for use in building modern houses have a marginal draft and rough face, sometimes full and sometimes partly dressed. But none of these are the Jewish bevel, which can be shown to have a distinct character of its own as certainly and clearly as a Jewish face has. We believe that too little attention has been paid to this fact.

Decay indicating age of stones

The result of the weathering of stones is to be taken into account, and we have many examples in the present walls. For instance, two large blocks are lying in the

wall side by side. The character and quality of the rock are the same in both. They may have been brought from the same quarry, at least from quarries where the rock was identical in every respect. These two stones have been subject to the same conditions, but one is well preserved and the other is considerably or perhaps very much decayed. For this difference there is no apparent reason. But if the well-preserved one is 2,000 years old and the other is 3,000 years old we have a satisfactory explanation of the difference observed. The best rock of this country, the kind now contemplated, when exposed to the air will last for centuries, but it does not last forever.

Stones wear away rapidly

It is astonishing how rapidly the stone used for building in Jerusalem wears away under the feet of men and animals. Several interesting examples have been given in Chapter XXXVIII. This was to be expected of the soft varieties; but when the hard varieties are examined or when they are being cut and hammered one could easily believe that they would last indefinitely. The bearing of this fact on certain remains that have been uncovered needs to be considered.

Between 1885 and 1890 the authorities of Jerusalem spent a considerable sum of money in paving the streets. In some quarries the rock is in horizontal layers which are four to six inches thick. These are easily broken into pieces suitable, when placed on edge, for paving the streets. When completed the streets presented a fine appearance, a white surface, flat and pretty even. The edges wore away faster than the centres of the blocks. Consequently after ten or twelve years the streets appeared as if they had been paved with cobblestones. No wagons had passed along them, this wear being entirely caused by the feet of animals and men. One must now exercise great care in walking upon these stones, especially when they are wet, if he would avoid injuring himself by slipping.

Borrowing stones

The present walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt in A.D. 1542. Many new stones were prepared for the purpose, but the number of old ones employed is simply innumerable. There is nowhere else on earth a more heterogeneous collection of stones than is found here. Whatever material existed within reach was used. These composite walls are interesting because they contain so many silent witnesses of the history of thirty centuries past; and they serve as the best possible illustration of a process that has been going on since very early times. It has always been less laborious to borrow stones than to go to the quarries and prepare new ones. The hills of Judea are a mass of rock, and the land is everywhere strewn with stones so thickly that one often finds it next to impossible to make his way among them. In such a country one never thinks of stones having any particular value. But in Palestine even now it is common for the peasants to steal stones from each other, not only those that are being prepared for building but those that have been built into walls. In a certain place near Jerusalem there is a perfect wilderness of rock. A man bought a portion of this region, and to make his boundary secure had stones prepared from these rocks and a solid wall built. This was not ten years ago, and to-day there are not a dozen yards of this wall remaining. It has been stolen bodily.

An interesting account of removing stones is found in very early Hebrew records. Baasha, king of Israel, made encroachments upon Judah and sought to cripple his rival king Asa by building a strong castle or fortress on his border towards Jerusalem. Asa, B.C. 913-B.C. 873, defeated the plan and the king of Israel retired. But Asa got together a great number of men, who carried away to other places the stones which Baasha had prepared for building Ramah (1 Kings xv. 22; Chron. xvi. 6). This instance would not come under the head of borrowing, nor of stealing, but in modern language might be termed confiscation.

The practice of re-laying walls, the consequent utilizing of old stones, the borrowing of stones from some neighboring ruin, and especially the breaking up of great blocks which former people at vast expense had brought together and built into massive structures, is one of the most common known in this part of the East. During the two years that the writer spent in exploring the country east of the Jordan many instances of this kind were brought to his attention. Not only throughout Palestine, but throughout Syria and Phœnicia as well, nearly every ruin could repeat the same story. Particularly have all the ancient coast towns suffered in this way; they have been the quarries for every modern city that could be reached by boat. Could the history of stone-borrowing in this country be traced and written out, at least one large volume would be required to contain the account.

In the light of these facts, what sort of comment shall we make upon the character of those buildings, castles, walls, and fortifications of ancient times which during the past twenty centuries more or less have proved such a boon to the inhabitants of the land?

The present walls, as we have seen, serve as an example of what in this respect has taken place in Jerusalem. The moving of large stones was always foreign to the genius of the Arab. Whatever stones men could easily handle, or could easily be transported on the backs of camels or other beasts of burden, controlled the size of their building material. Consequently a multitude of ancient and massive blocks of stone were reduced by them to a convenient size. When Herod rebuilt the Temple it meant, as is stated, the utilizing to some extent of material that had been prepared and placed in position by Solomon. When the Austrian Hospice was built fifty or more years ago the material was supplied by breaking up the heavy stones of Agrippa's Wall, which then existed in the olive grove north of the city.

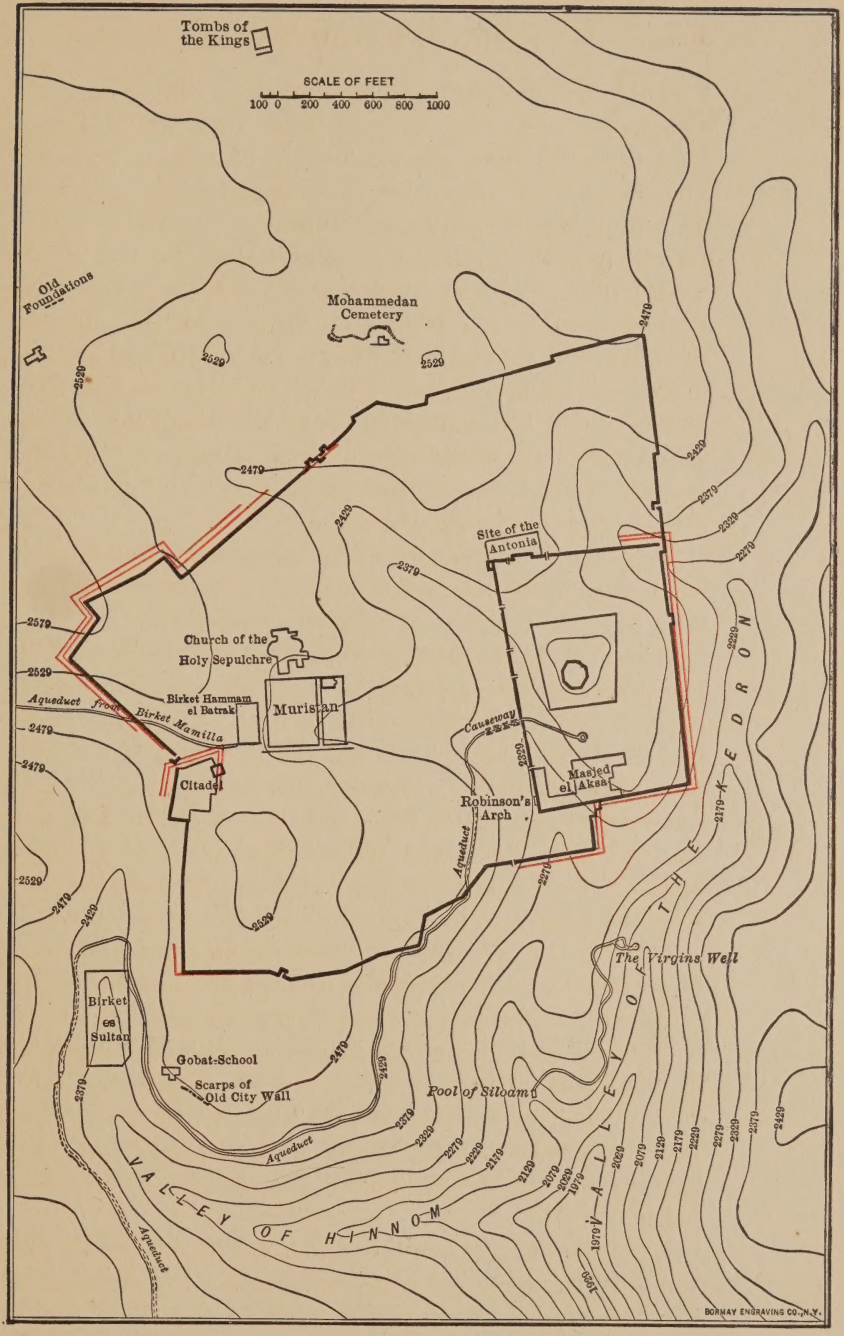
In spite of considerable previous building and the vandalism with respect to ancient work which always took place, Hebrew stones were very common when the Crusaders took possession of Jerusalem in A.D. 1099. In the present walls we can count by hundreds stones that originally belonged to the Hebrew period, which were cut over by the Crusaders. They reduced the heavy boss, and where it was possible they re-cut the margins, or better they re-trimmed them. The width and general shape are Hebrew while the dressing shows the Crusaders' hand. Considering what has happened in the past, one is surprised at the great number of Hebrew stones that have been preserved to our time, for they can still be counted by the thousand.

Repeated examinations of the remains still existing in Jerusalem justify us in formulating certain simple rules as to the construction of walls as follows:

RULE 1.—A new wall is to be built on virgin soil. If the materials are all new no question will arise as to the order in which they are to be used. If the materials are partly new and partly old the workmen will decide as to how they are to be used; the new may be used in one part of the wall and the old in another, or both new and old may be mixed indiscriminately. If the new stones are all small and the old ones are conspicuously large we expect to find the large stones at the bottom.

RULE 2.—A new wall is to be built on the foundations of an old wall. We expect to find the old material at the bottom. The workmen might disturb or renew it in case they found portions of it decayed or otherwise rendered unfit for use. But if it was firm and composed of large blocks we should expect to find them at the bottom and the new stones whether large or small at the top. The eastern wall of the Haram or Temple area is a case in point.

RULE 3.—A wall has late and small stones at the bottom and the same for many or nearly all of the courses upwards, but near the top there are a few large stones.



PRESENT WALLS OF JERUSALEM

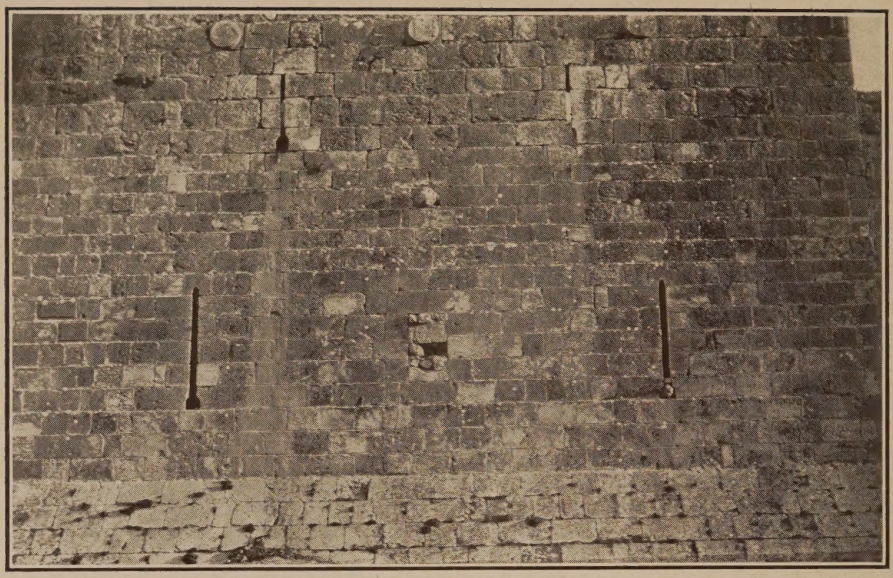
The red lines indicate where genuine Hebrew stones still exist in large numbers. Stones of the Hebrew period that were worked over by the Crusaders are not included.

Had the large stones existed on or near the line of the new wall to be constructed, we should expect them to have been utilized near the bottom of the foundations. The fact of their position leads to the conclusion that they were brought from a distance. But the labor and cost of raising these to their place near the top of the wall would have made the attempt a very unwise one. These conditions, or most of them, exist in the wall at the northeast corner of the city. In Chapter IV. it has been explained how the trench was cut and the excavated stones built into towers which consist almost entirely of new work. Inside the wall there is a high bank nearly as high as the wall itself. This is part of the ridge that originally existed here, running north and south, through which the existing moat was cut. This ridge slopes towards the interior of the present city, and these blocks could have been dragged up this incline and from its top easily moved to their present position.

RULE 4.—A wall is composed largely from top to bottom of Hebrew stones. We conclude that although the wall as we now see it has been re-laid, Hebrew stones were abundant on or near the line of that section of wall. Illustrations are found at the northwest corner of the city, where the walls extending in one direction towards the Jaffa Gate, and in the other direction for 430 yards towards the Damascus Gate, are composed largely of Hebrew stones.

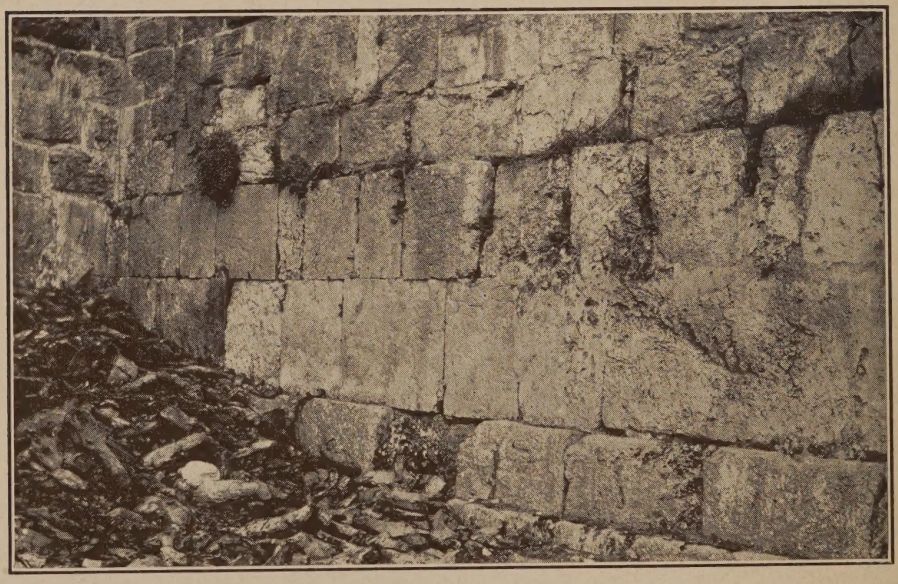
Variety of stone-work

In order to arrive at reasonable results in the matter of classification the walls themselves must be carefully examined. The writer feels that he has been conscientious in this, for, in connection with his work, he has been around the walls scores of times and inspected every section of them in the most painstaking manner. Studied in this way these old relics are a revelation. With every few yards in our progress a different and surprising mix-up attracts our attention. The only per-



NORTH WALL OF THE CITY

Where the character of the wall changes to small stones well trimmed and laid.



NORTH WALL OF THE CITY

A little to the east of Herod's Gate.

fect way of making a person appreciate the variety of styles that exist would be to take him about the city time and again until the lesson was learned. As this is impossible, we have attempted to bring the subject before the reader by a series of Illustrations, which certainly show that different sections of the wall are totally unlike each other and belong to widely different periods.

I. We will commence with the northwest corner of Jerusalem. Thence to the Jaffa Gate in one direction, and for thirteen hundred feet towards the Damascus Gate in the other direction, a great majority of the stones belong to the Hebrew period. The Illustration covers little more than thirty feet of the wall in length, and the Hebrew stones are easily recognized. The bottom layer is in its original position. One stone near the right is upwards of ten feet long and was broken into four pieces for removal, which, however, was not done, the block being left in its place.

II. After a distance of 1,300 feet the character of the wall changes entirely, as appears in the Illustration. The stones here are small, they are well trimmed and laid, and with hardly an exception they are of one style and belong to the period since A.D. 1542. (See Plate I., Fig. 8.)

III. The next Illustration takes us to a section of the wall a little to the east of Herod's Gate, in the depression which represents, as explained elsewhere, the western branch of the Kedron. On the right there are two or three large Hebrew stones whose faces have been cut smooth; the others are the squared smooth-faced stones which we class as Byzantine or as belonging to the period of Constantine (Plate I., Fig. 1). In the upper layer there are stones which evidently have passed under the Crusaders' hand. These Hebrew stones are 6 feet long and 3 feet 4 inches thick. Altogether, there are at this point not far from one hundred of these peculiar stones, some of which are certainly of the period described, while others are Hebrew stones cut over by

the Crusaders. Sample measurements of the Byzantine stones give us 2 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 10 inches, and 2 feet 9 inches by 2 feet 10 inches. Stones of the same period in the Russian church near the Holy Sepulchre measure 1 foot 2 inches by 2 feet 3 inches; 1 foot 6 inches by 1 foot 11 inches; 1 foot 9 inches by 2 feet 5 inches. Between this point in the wall and Herod's Gate there are many of the medium-sized Hebrew stones, some of which have been worked over, while others are in their original form. Attention is asked to two Illustrations of stones in the Russian church, one of Byzantine work and the other of genuine Hebrew work. The latter may be relics of the Acra, the strong citadel of Jerusalem in the Hebrew period, from some of whose stones was constructed the Monument of the High Priest John, which stood in this immediate vicinity. In the Byzantine period such blocks were not carved out new, nor were those that existed removed from place to place. The great contrast between massive Hebrew blocks and Byzantine work could not be more strikingly presented.

IV. For the next style the reader is referred to two Illustrations in Chapter IV. As was explained in that chapter, the stones obtained when the trenches were excavated were used for constructing the wall. The rock scarp of the trench appears in both Illustrations. The work in the two towers is almost all new. Higher up in the wall there were used some medium-sized Hebrew stones. The new work in both wall and towers belongs to the Christian-Arab period, i.e. before A.D. 1243. Arab writers refer to it as an act worthy of historical mention that Saladin cut a trench from the Jaffa Gate round to the Damascus Gate. But for almost that entire distance no trench ever existed. At the extreme northwest corner, for a short distance, the rock was, at some time, cut through; but this was so small a task that it could scarcely have excited note or comment. But cutting the trench south and west from the northeast corner of the city, as shown in the Illustrations in

HEBREW AND BYZANTINE STONES

In ruins east of the Holy Sepulchre.

SOUTH WALL OF THE CITY

Chapter IV., was a work of magnitude, of which Saladin or any other ruler might be proud. However, this matter is not for us to decide; we simply indicate the period to which, in our judgment, the principal stone-work in this section belongs.

V. For our fifth Illustration we go south from the northeast corner of the city to the vicinity of St. Stephen's Gate. For the Illustration itself we refer again to Chapter IV., and the massive Hebrew stones that appear in it tell their own story.

VI. The next Illustration takes us to the south wall of the city. It does not represent the portion of this wall which is between the southeast corner and the Dung Gate, since that is composed chiefly of Hebrew stones; but between the Dung Gate and Zion Gate very much of the wall is of this character (Plate I., Fig. 2). Some of the stones have dressed faces, but there are thousands that were laid as they were broken from the quarry. It is more than probable that great numbers of these stones were obtained by breaking up the large Hebrew blocks found in the vicinity. It would be far easier to break such blocks into small stones that could be readily handled than it would be to attempt to move the blocks themselves. The entire wall west of the Dung Gate appears weak. Attacks on that side of the city were never anticipated. In all the history of Jerusalem we do not read of an attack from the south. Even after the wall was drawn in from the brow of Zion, where it originally stood, to its present position, which we suppose was in the first instance the work of Hadrian, resulting in a part of the hill being left as open ground, we do not hear of any attacks being made in this part. The south wall presents a decided contrast to those on the east, north, and west of the city, the greatest contrast being between it and the wall on the north. It seems to have been built with little care and without much regard to strength.

VII. We have now reached the west wall, and the

Illustration shows two sections less than 200 feet north of the southwest corner. The one at the right resembles in character the south wall (No. VI.). The other shows better work. North of these two sections the rough work ceases and the stones especially in the towers are larger.

EXPLANATION OF FIGURES ON PLATE I.

Fig. 1 represents the general form of what, for good reasons, we have called Byzantine work. For some account of the same and for sample measurements we refer to Illustration III. in "Around the Walls." Special attention is called to the difference between this style and genuine Hebrew stones which exist side by side in the ruins east of the Holy Sepulchre.

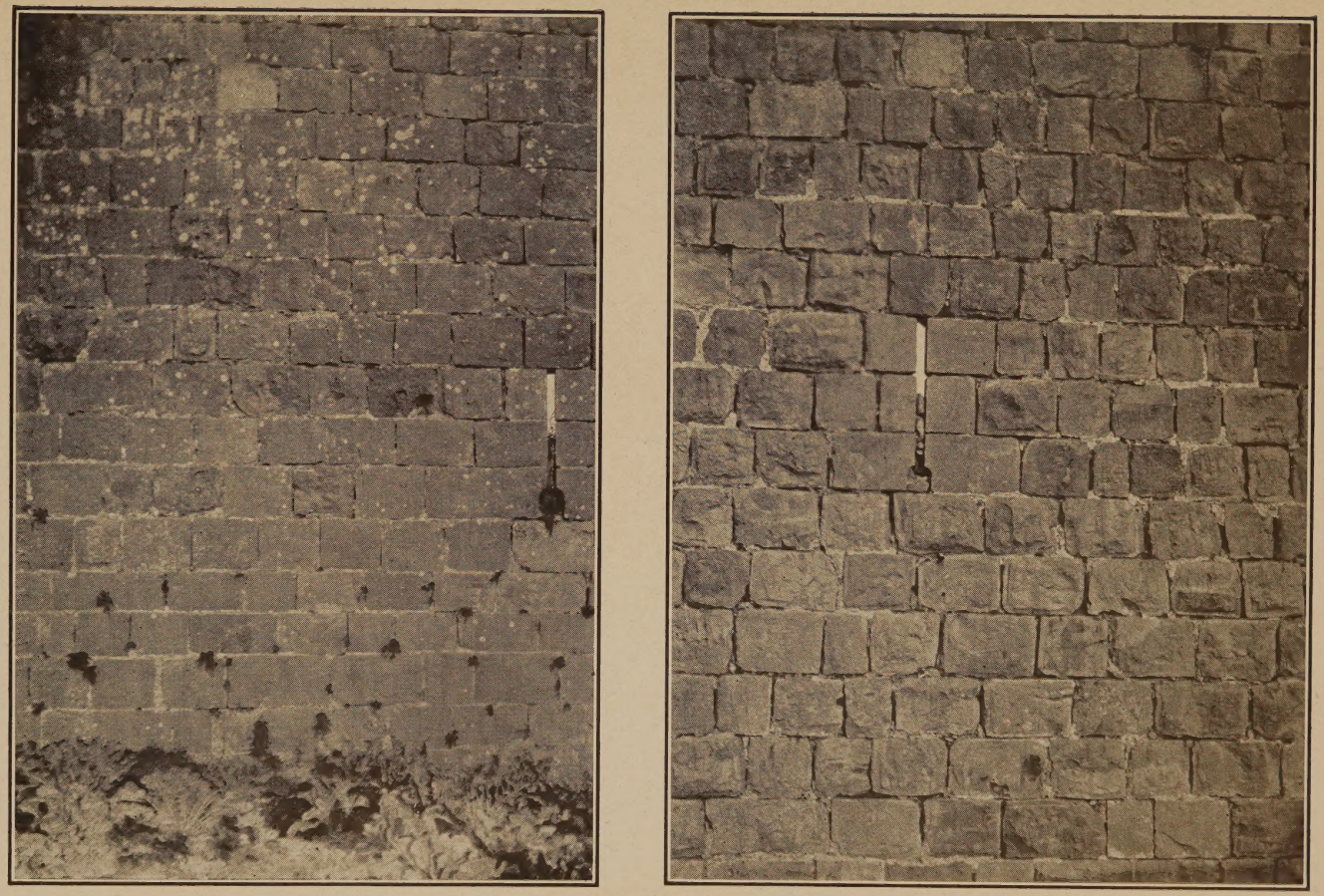
Fig. 2. There are a multitude of square stones in different sections, of which those shown in the Illustrations of the south wall are good examples. Very many, however, were more carefully prepared and have been better preserved than these; but these serve to illustrate the size, of which 14 by 14 inches, 16 by 16 inches, and 20 by 23 inches are samples. Many are just the size that would result were the Byzantine stones, as previously described, broken into four pieces.

Fig. 3. Long sections of the wall on each side of the city have what may be called a top-dressing of three to five layers of late Arab stones, i.e. of the period subsequent to A.D. 1542. The stones are well squared and well dressed, and 12 by 12 inches is a common size.

Fig. 4. We find a few stones marked with curved lines pretty deeply cut as here represented. One large Hebrew stone in the Castle of David, and one massive block in the east wall of the Temple area, have these deep lines; but most of this class correspond to Fig. 4, and are of the same dimensions as those represented by Fig. 2. In two or three quarries similar markings have been noticed. The lines were made by the workman's instrument while the stones were being excavated, and as trimming was not convenient they were left as we find them. There are probably not twenty stones thus marked in the entire city wall.

Fig. 5. In limited sections of the wall stones exist which are a little larger than Fig. 2, and a little smaller than Fig. 1. In this, as in some other cases, we must bear in mind the differing thicknesses of the layers of rock as found in the different quarries, since this will account in some measure for the varying thicknesses of the stones in the walls. Some of this class have a smooth face, while a good proportion of them have a wide shallow margin and a very slightly rough face. Both are combined in Fig. 5.

Fig 6. In this chapter, under "Building Periods," the Christian-Roman work there spoken of is well represented by this figure. Such stones are found in the ruins existing in many parts of Palestine, and in the Muristan they were the predominant and almost the universal style. They have a substantial look and seem to express more character than the stones of some other classes. They are extremely well cut and matched, they have no margin or bevel, and the faces are smooth. The time between Hadrian



TWO SECTIONS NORTH OF THE SOUTHWEST CORNER

Showing different grades of work.

and the Arab conquest, in A.D. 636, we have described as the Christian-Roman period, since most of the work of this class belongs to these centuries; but it is not asserted that one style suddenly stopped and another began. This particular style continued through the era of the Crusaders, but did not extend beyond. Another caution is necessary, namely, that this was not the only method of cutting stone prevailing during the long period indicated. General measurements of the Muristan stones show them to be 20 inches thick and 30 to 38 inches long. They are among the best of this class of work. As we should expect, there are many of these stones near the Jaffa Gate and in certain portions of the Castle of David.

FIG. 7. In size, stones of this class are between those represented by Figs. 6 and 8. They always have the marginal draft, which is wide, in some instances very wide, and frequently so slight as to be scarcely perceptible. The faces are in all cases nearly even with the margin, but were left as they were dressed by some sharp-pointed instrument. There are very many such stones in the west wall of the city between the Castle of David and the southwest corner, and likewise near the Damascus Gate. There is the greatest possible contrast between these stones and those represented by Fig. 10 The same is true also of stones represented by Fig. 5. Stones represented by Figs. 5 and 7 are seldom found together, and the same can be said of those represented by Figs. 7 and 10. In the Damascus Gate there are two styles; if the stones are drafted they correspond to Fig. 7; if not drafted they are smaller and correspond to Fig. 8. At the top, as previously described, the Arab stones correspond to Fig. 3. The great stones in the foundations on each side of this Gate are not considered here. The evidence seems to be good that the Damascus Gate was rebuilt by Suleiman in A.D. 1542, and there is no evidence that it has since been again rebuilt.

Another interesting bit of stone-work to be considered is the Golden Gate. Nearly all the stones with which it is walled up correspond to Fig. 5. When the Crusaders entered Jerusalem, in A.D. 1099, they found this Gate closed. No doubt the Arabs had closed it for security, especially as it was not much used and could be spared. As we cannot say that these stones are those originally used for the purpose indicated, we cannot determine their age. This is to be regretted. This wall, being vastly weaker than those on either side of it, would be a tempting point for besiegers to attack. Some of the stones in the sides of this gate resemble Byzantine work, although the quality of the stone is not of the best. In this gate there is no trace of Jewish or of Christian-Roman work.

For some centuries previous to A.D. 1243 it seems possible to trace two distinct influences in the stone-work of that long period, the Arab element and the Christian element. We have Figs. 5, 7, and 10 to account for. We do not believe that Fig. 10 was developed from Fig. 5, and it is generally supposed that stones represented by Fig 5 belong to the Crusaders. But if so, they have dropped the narrow margin and smooth face as in Fig. 16, and the bevel and margin and smooth faces as in Figs. 18 and 19. It is to be remembered that there were many varieties of Crusaders coming at different periods and from different parts of Europe, and they may have brought with them very different ideas of stone-cutting. Possi-

bly the Christian coins of the first ten centuries of our era furnish an illustration of what took place in the stone-work of that period. At first they were fine and well executed; at last they were coarse, rude, and unattractive. A similar process of decay appears to have gone on in stone-work until the debased and ugly forms represented by Fig. 10 were the result.

Fig. 8. Stones belonging to the period subsequent to A.D. 1542 were largely of this form. They are smaller than those represented by Fig. 7, and very much smaller than those represented by Fig. 6. Sample measurements are 12 by 20 inches, and 14 by 24 inches. They are well made, with smooth faces.

Figs. 9 and 10. What we have chosen to call "deformed stones" are rarely found in the walls of Jerusalem, but they occur sometimes in houses within the city that were built of old material. In the interior wall of the Castle of David, near its south end, there are examples of the better class of this work, and in the walls of the Convent of Mar Saba they are the chief feature, and are of sufficient interest to justify an Illustration. The stones are seldom well squared; the margin is irregular, sometimes wide and sometimes narrow, and is always badly cut; the boss is small, shapeless, very prominent, projecting from 4 to 6 inches, and the effect is anything but agreeable. In marginal draft work these stones represent the most degenerate style. The commonest form is represented by Fig. 10, although the irregularities are not shown. Fig. 9 is a drawing of an actual form, but the boss may occur anywhere on the face of the stone and be of any shape. These stones are generally larger than those represented by Fig. 2.

Fig. 11. Of the massive Hebrew stones there are two kinds, square and oblong. The square stones vary in length from 5 to 8 feet and in height from 4 to 6 feet.

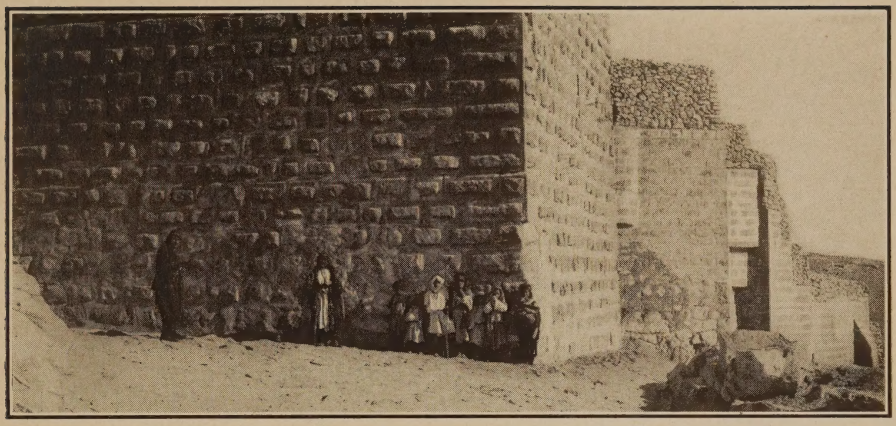
Fig. 12. This represents the general form of Hebrew stones. The dimensions vary so much that no average can be given, although several hundred have been measured. In a very large number of instances they are upwards of 3 feet in length and from 2 feet 2 inches to 2 feet 8 inches in thickness. Of two of these stones Illustrations are given which in the wall lie side by side. The characteristics are peculiar and marked; no other people ever succeeded in imitating perfectly the Jewish bevel.

Fig. 13. Here and there strange forms appear of which one example is given This has a rounded very full face, a fair margin, is well preserved, and measures 3 feet 6 inches in length and 1 foot 2 inches in thickness. Such a stone could not have been made by a Hebrew and cannot belong to the Hebrew period; it requires no great skill to discover that it was fashioned by some Italian hand. Very few of this class occur, and this is given to show that such stones are not of Jewish origin.

Fig. 14. The largest Hebrew stones take this form. In height they are from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 6 inches, and in length from 12 feet to 28 feet.

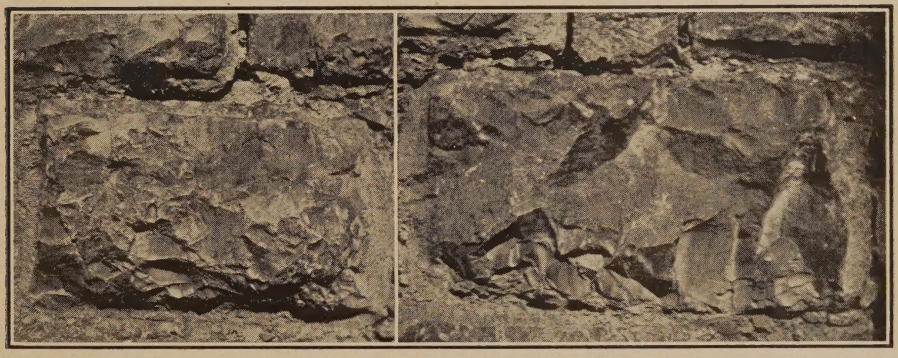
Fig. 15. In their best work in re-cutting old stones the Crusaders made a perfectly smooth face, as Fig. 16 in section would show; while the Hebrews made a broad deep margin, leaving a rough full face as is here represented.

Figs. 16 and 17. These are considered together, since they are de-



MAR SABA

Described under Figures 9 and 10.



HEBREW STONES

Description under Figure 12.

signed to show the difference between the Jewish bevel (Fig. 17) and that of the Crusaders (Fig. 16), after old blocks of stone had been cut over by them. They made the surface smooth and the margin as narrow as possible; where they could control the blocks this rule was seldom violated.

Figs. 18 and 19. Here are two styles of Crusading work, one with the slightest possible bevel and a close joint, and the other with the slightest possible margin. The stones in both have smooth faces, and both are found in the walls of the city, but not in large numbers and only in certain special localities. In the extreme south wall of the Castle of David (facing south) there is a large and well-preserved section of the work represented by Fig. 18. It is remarkable that in the commotions of the past few centuries this bit of wall should have remained intact.

The stones in each of the classes now considered vary so much that it is impossible to give the exact average of size, and the only thing to do is to represent them as they appear to the eye, giving, as we have done, a few sample measurements. At the outset the former plan was tried, but after upwards of six hundred stones had been measured the attempt was abandoned as hopeless.

There are some other points connected with the stone-work of Jerusalem which the writer would like to elaborate, but to do so would involve the use of many more illustrations, with which this chapter is already crowded, hence they are omitted.

Four or five places near the foundations of the walls, one of which is in the Castle of David, the writer has frequently examined with peculiar and more than usual interest. They are found where two large stones join each other, the two resting on a third. At the junction the stones have been broken away by hammers, iron bars, or other implements, in the attempt to undermine the walls and effect an entrance. It is easy to picture an enemy at one of these points exposed to cruel missiles from overhead, engaged in the arduous and dangerous task of breaking through, simply by hand effort, one of these massive ramparts. How often has this been repeated in the history of Jerusalem. How many brave warriors have struggled to capture and to defend the city.

How much battle and bloodshed within and without the walls. How many armies have camped on these ancient hills. How vast the number of men that have perished on the soil where we are standing. What strange pictures of royal grandeur, of military display, of famine, of suffering and death, are presented to our gaze as the solemn pageant of thirty centuries moves by. Truly this is the most interesting city on the globe. Its tragic and thrilling history is now ended; its glory has passed, its millions of dead are silent and are remembered no more, and its old walls which have so long absorbed our attention are fast crumbling away. But Olivet, from the east, noble, stately, beautiful as it catches the morning and evening light, tirelessly watching over this sacred dust and these inspiring ruins, reminds us of scenes and events which once took place on its summit, and which kindle in our minds the uplifting hope that at last war and strife will cease, righteousness become the law of nations and of men, and the earth be filled with the glory of its King.

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